MUSLIM INDIA

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[RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE]

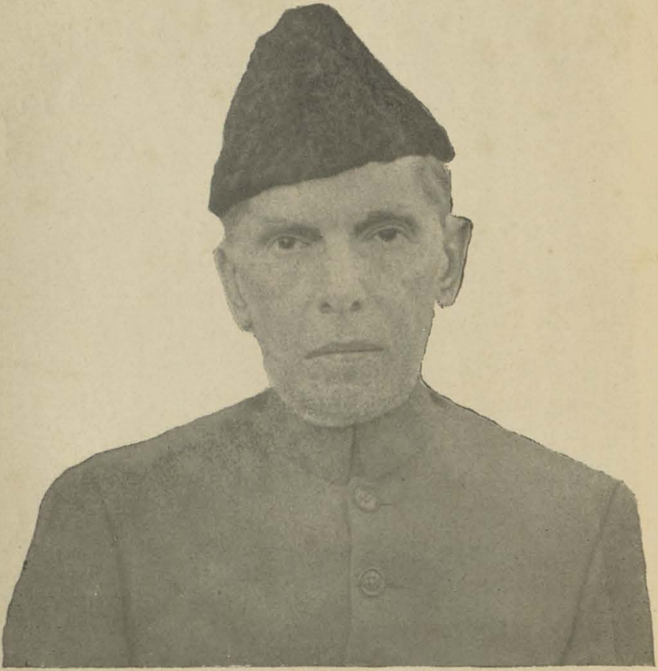
By

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Qaide Azam M. A. Jinnah

Dedicated

to

QAIDE AZAM Mr. M. A. JINNAH

Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,
    Lead thou me on!
The night is dark and I am far from home,
    Lead thou me on!
Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see,
    The distant path, one step's enough for me.

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PREFACE

It is unfortunate that the men who made history had little time to write it. The History of the Mussalmans in India is read with much prejudice. The absence of an authentic history free from communal or political bias has led to considerable misunderstanding, with the result that the gulf between the two communities has become wider with the passage of the time. I have tried to give a true picture of the various phases in the development of the Muslim politics in India after the collapse of their power in 1857. Every effort has been made to be exact, impartial, free from passion unswayed by personal interest or fear and absolute fidelity to the Truth which is the basis of History. Our historians have chronicled only political events and omitted account of the political consciousness amongst the people of India. Wilful misrepresentation and unbridled vilification have been indulged in against the Mussalmans and their history has been presented in the darkest colours. The present History presents the other side of the medal. It was a difficult task that I undertook to perform. The Muslim League though established in 1906, remained in a state of torpor from 1919 to 1935, and took a new turn in 1936. Throughout this long period it has experienced many vicissitudes.

Yet in all these years the Muslim League has successfully represented the Muslim point of view and to-day claims to be the only representative body which can speak on behalf of the Muslims in India. The birth of the Muslim League was a natural reaction to the birth of the Congress, which in its early stages created suspicion in the mind of the Muslims and after some years they were convinced that to join the Congress would be tantamount to their complete annihilation as a separate political entity.

It was also necessary for me to deal with the period preceding the formation of the League. It was necessary to meet the various criticisms levelled against the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. It is wrong to judge any action or move from the standard of our age and time. The Mussalmans passed through a great crisis from 1857 to 1906. The case of the Hindus is different. The policy of the British was directed towards the suppression of the Muslims in which the Hindus freely joined and the Muslims had to fight for their existence which depended upon the goodwill of the British.

I received great help and encouragement from Mr. M. A. Jinnah. His files and other material were my guide and I must acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude I owe him for all the assistance he rendered me and for the great interest he displayed in the preparation of the book.

My thanks are also due to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. I cannot adequately acknowledge the help, facilities and assistance he has invariably given me. I made free use of his library. If the public

has the opportunity of going through these pages it is due to the helping and guiding hand of our dear and loving friend the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad.

My gratitude is also due to my uncle Moulvi Mohd. Amin Sahib whose valuable collection and documents relating to the early period were of great help to me.

I also owe thanks to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib for placing the record kept in the Central office of the League at my disposal. In the end I have to thank all those who helped me by their suggestions and the loan of their files and books. Lastly I have to thank Sh. Abdul Rashid Sahib, my revered lecturer for going through the manuscript and to Messrs. Jamiluddin, lecturer Aligarh University and Mohd. Yamin Zuberi for their help.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not thank Kitabistan, the publishers, for the great interest they have taken in publishing this book.

To my readers, I can only say that I have tried my level best to confine myself to the facts relevant to the subject of the book. I have discussed at length the Congress activities which I consider to have been the cause which shaped the Muslim politics and gave them their present direction. In this I have followed the advice, "In many things it is not well to say, 'Know thyself', it is better to say, 'Know others'."

CIVIL LINES, ALIGARH — MOHD. NOMAN

December 10, 1941

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE MUSLIMS

With the dawn of the eighteenth century, the seeds of disintegration and degeneration which were sown long in the body politic of the Moghul Empire had steadily sprouted. After the death of Aurangzeb, a Moghul Emperor still ruled at Delhi, but in the words of Mill, "the forlorn Emperor, the nominal sovereign of so vast an empire, the representative of so illustrious a race, who now possesses hardly a roof to protect him," neither possessed the glamour nor wielded the influence of his illustrious ancestors. The vigour and vitality of the Moghul rule had become a myth. The forces of degeneration and decay were at work in every way. The Emperor enjoyed only nominal suzerainty. Owing to the weakness of the Moghul Empire, after the death of Aurangzeb, India had fallen a prey, not only to the rapacity of the Jats and Mahrattas, but desperate adventurers of every race and sect. The British, who had secured a foot-hold in the country, also stepped into the arena. They had built up their factories at Surat to carry on business, but they soon began to meddle in politics and side with one or the other of the contending parties.

They gradually established themselves in various centres of the country. They exacted concessions from the weak government; they traded in the country without paying the customary duties. The French who had become the rivals of the British in their race for search of markets in different lands came to India, and the two nations began to compete with each other. The Mahrattas had made many inroads into the imperial territories and had become a menace to the peace and tranquillity of the country. The refractory Jats came into hostility with the established Government, while the Rohillas established semi-independent states of their own. Small principalities, independent provinces were springing up, owing allegiance to no central authority.

The Sikhs gathered strength again in the Punjab. In short, the whole country was in the grip of war, and anarchy and pursuit of power at the expense of the Moghul Empire which was rapidly falling to pieces. The central government was not strong enough to counteract these forces. The British people departed from their policy of confining themselves to their business. In playing the role of an aggressor, or lending their support to one of the parties, they visualised a future full of hopes for them. The lust for power blinded their eyes to the pledges they had made. After obtaining a foot-hold in Bengal as the servants of the Mohammadan ruler, they showed no pity in the hour of their triumph, and with insolence they trampled down their masters in the mire. The seed of Bri-

tish rule in India, was sown by the hand of aggression, in an atmosphere of social degeneration and political decay of the dominant race. It was nourished by Fortune, and cultivated and shaped by Necessity. It started as a commercial venture, but by accession of military strength and acquisition of important territories became an important political power in the country. The people of India were reduced to poverty by years of misrule and wars and were without hope of support or guidance from their natural leaders.

The French who were at logger-heads with the British in Europe tried their best to avert the growth and finally destroy the rising British power. This could only be possible by active participation in Indian political affairs. The British outwitted their French rivals by superior diplomacy and better organisation and resources. Lord Clive succeeded in securing the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from the Moghul Emperor without taking the moral responsibility of governing the country, and this masterly stroke of policy secured the British a legal status in the country.

The Home Government became alive to the great power which the East India Company had acquired, and the Parliament began to legislate for the Company. The first attempt at legislature was the passing of the Regulating Act. A Governor-General was appointed under the Royal Seal and the Governors were given a council and were empowered to make laws. The Company in the meantime was making huge profits. Its servants

had been accepting bribes of vast sums as also Moghul titles. The famous impeachment of Hastings is an historical document which throws much light on the then existing state of affairs. The British people began to win over the Hindus to undermine the Muslim domination of the country, and the Hindu commercial classes supported them out of spite for the Muslims as well as out of hope of material gains. Economic exploitation of the country, political repression, missionary propaganda, and the educational policy of the English were all calculated to crush the power and undermine the influence and prestige of the Mussalmans in India.

The East India Company and the Muslims

Ever since the East India Company assumed control of affairs, they embarked upon a policy detrimental to Muslim interests. The educational policy of the Company adversely affected the Muslims, not only by indirectly increasing the number of illiterates among them, but also by closing the doors of employment upon them. Before the introduction of the British system, education was widely spread and the percentage of literacy among the Mussalmans in those days was higher than at present. Every Mussalman of position had a Madrasah or Maktab and a Mosque attached to his house! These Madrasahs turned out men, well educated in Arabic and Persian, and able to conduct business in the courts as judges and

vakils, and to occupy important administrative posts. How the British rule affected the Muslims is testified to by Dr. Hunter in the following words:

> Before the country passed under our rule, the Mussalmans in all essentials lived the same life, as they do now. To this day they exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling and capability of warlike enterprise, but in all other aspects they are a race ruined under British rule.

The system of education introduced by the Company was unacceptable to the Muslims, and there is ample justification for their complaint against the system which hitherto was foreign to them, as Dr. Hunter puts it:

> The truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Mussalmans.

The Mussalmans, proud of their past and conscious of their loss, could not be expected to take kindly to such a system. Their fears and prejudices were well grounded. The situation as it stood then has been described by Dr. Hunter in memorable words:

> With the Mussalmans the case was altogether different. Before the country passed to us, they were not only the political but intellectual power in India.
>
> They possessed a system of education which secured to them an intellectual as well as a material supremacy, and through the medium of which alone the Hindus

> could hope to fit themselves for the smallest share of authority in their native country. During the first seventy-five years of our rule we continued to make use of this system as a means for producing officers to carry out our administration. But meanwhile we had introduced a scheme of public instruction of our own and as soon as it trained up a generation of men on the new plan we flung aside the old Mohammadan system, and the Mussalman youths found every avenue of public life closed in their faces.

The Muslims evinced no enthusiasm or zeal for the pursuit of English education, for they considered the whole system as detrimental to the growth of their life—a national mode of life to which they had been accustomed for centuries and from which they could not be weaned easily. They still considered the Company as their lawful agents, and any imposition of a system foreign to them was wholly unacceptable. While the worldly-minded among them made advances towards our system, the fanatical system shrunk still further back from it. During the last forty years they have separated themselves from the Hindus by differences of dress, salutations, and other exterior distinctions, such as they never deemed necessary in the days of their supremacy.

> The truth is, that our system of public instruction ignores the three most powerful instincts of the Mussalman's heart. In the first place, it conducts education in the vernacular, a language which the educated Mohammadans despise, and by means of Hindu teachers whom the whole Mohammadan community hates. In the second place, our rural schools seldom enable a Mohammadan to learn the tongues necessary for his holding a respectable

position in life, and for the performance of his religious duties. In the third place, our system of public instruction makes no provision for the religious education of the Mohammadan youth. It overlooks the fact that among the Hindus, a large and powerful caste has come down from times immemorial for supplying this part of a boy's training, while among the Mohammadans no separate body of clergy exists. Every head of a Mussalman household is supposed to know the duties of his religion, and to be his own family priest. Public ministrations are indeed conducted at the mosques; but it is the glory of Islam that its temples are not made with hands and that its ceremonies can be performed anywhere upon God's earth or under His Heavens. A system of purely secular education is adapted to very few nations.

Is it, therefore, (to repeat the words of "Indian Statesman" who has studied the subject most deeply) any wonder that the Mussalmans have held aloof from a system which made no concession to their prejudices; made no provision for what they esteemed their necessities which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests, and at variance with all their social traditions ?

The Christian Government not only introduced a system which the Muslims did not accept but, on the contrary, embarked upon the senseless policy of ruining the indigenous system of the country.

But unfortunately this is not their most serious charge against us. While we have created a system of Public Instruction unsuited to their wants, we have also denuded their own system of the funds by which it was formerly supported. Every great Mussalman House in Bengal maintained a scholastic establishment in which its sons and its poorer neighbours received an education free of expense. As the Mohammadan families of the

> province declined, such private institutions dwindled in numbers and in efficiency. It was not, however, till the second half century of our rule that we arrayed against them the resistless forces of British Law. From time immemorial the Native Princes of India had been accustomed to set apart grants of land for the education of the youth and for the service of the gods. (*Hunter*)

Hundreds of ancient families were ruined, and the educational system of the Mussalmans which was almost entirely maintained by rent-free grants received its death-blow.

There can be no doubt whatever that it is from those resumptions that the decay of the Mohammadan system of education dates. "Some years ago it is stated, that out of 300 boys in the English Colleges, not one per cent., were Muslims."

The Englishmen in India failed in their duty towards the Muslims, and if we analyse this charge, we shall find that the unsympathetic system of public instruction lies at the root of the matter. The Muslims could never hope to succeed in life or obtain a fair share in the benefit of the State until they could fit themselves for it, and there was no possibility of fulfilling the conditions unless provision was made for their education in the schools. The policy of the Company closed all honourable avenues to public life in the country to the Muslims. Dr. Hunter says:

> In a word, the Indian Mussalmans arraign the British Government for its want of sympathy, for its want of magnanimity, for its mean malversation of their funds, and for great public wrongs spread over a period of one hundred years. The Mohammadan soon found

> himself excluded from his share of power and from the emoluments of the Government services which he had monopolised. A great section of the Indian population, some thirty millions in number, finds itself decaying under the British Rule.

The Mussalmans did not wish to monopolise Services but they found that they were gradually being excluded from them altogether. In short, they were a people with great traditions but without future career.

They were reduced to the position of such abject poverty that it was openly confessed that "if any statesman wishes to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to narrate the history of one of the Mohammadan families in Bengal." The Muslim aristocracy was ruined and the peasantry was impoverished.

> The administration of the Imperial taxes was the first great source of income in Bengal, and the Mussalman aristocracy monopolised it. The police was another great source of income and the police was officered by Mohammadans.
>
> A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Mussalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich. (*Hunter*).

Thus, of the three sources of power and pelf that had once lent privilege and influence to noble Mussalman families—Military Command, the collection of the revenue and the Judicious or Political employment, the army was finally closed to the Muslims, and the collection of the land revenue

was no longer assigned to them, but their bailiffs, the Hindus. The English had obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officer of the Delhi Empire. "For some years the English maintained the Mohammadan officers in their posts; and when they began to venture upon reforms, they did so with a caution bordering upon timidity." The permanent settlement was another blow which seriously damaged the position of the Muslims. Dr. Hunter admits that this change was a breach of trust:

> This, then, is the first public wrong on which the Mohammadan aristocracy arraign the British Government. They assert that we obtained the Administration of Bengal from a Mussalman Emperor on the understanding that we would carry ourselves strong enough. We broke through this engagement.

The Calcutta Persian paper *Dur Bin* has thrown much light on the then existing state of affairs in an article, extracts from which are quoted below:

> All sorts of employment, great and small are being gradually snatched away from the Mohammadans, and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye, yet the time has now come when it publicly singles out the Mohammadans in its Gazettes for exclusion from official posts. Recently, when several vacancies occurred in the office of the Sunderbans Commissioner, that official in advertising them in the Government Gazette, stated that the appointments would be given to none but Hindus.
>
> In short, the Mohammadans have now sunk low, that, even when qualified for Government notifications,

nobody takes any notice of their helpless condition, and the higher authorities do not design to acknowledge their existence.

The petition presented by the Orissa Mohammadans will rather help to form a correct estimate of the situation and the circumstances under which the Muslims were then living.

> As loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, we have, we believe, an equal claim to all appointments in the administration of the country......

All these facts clearly show that the East India Company from the very beginning of its rule, adopted a destructive and ruinous policy towards the Muslims. The Muslims considered themselves the masters of the soil. They could not be expected to change their outlook or viewpoint so and adapt themselves to the new order. The British people had decided that for the expansion of new power and its continuance, the only course was to crush the Mussalmans. It was evident that the Muslim power had become weak and showed no signs of revival. Their fall was an admitted fact. The Hindus, for whom it was purely a question of change of masters, and perhaps in a way for the better, readily accepted the new conditions. That they profited enormously by it is an undeniable fact. The economic ruin, was realised by closing upon them the doors of services and by destroying their trade. In education, they did the same. The result of these policies was evident. The last attempt made by the Muslims to recover their power

was the War of Independence in 1857, mis-called the Mutiny. We shall presently deal with it and the disastrous results which followed from it.

The Indian Trade and the East India Company

We have already seen how the educational policy of the East India Company affected the Mussalmans, but the economic policy initiated by the Company was no less ruinous. We must bear in mind that the Indians, under the patronage of their Muslim rulers, had made considerable strides in various branches of art and industry. It was due to their interest in trade and commerce that the Moghul Emperors had granted a *Firman* to the East India Company. Before the coming of British, trade was being carried on with other countries, and India profited by it. The influx of people of various countries not only enriched Indian arts but its civilisation too, and this was mainly due to the enlightened and large-hearted patronage of Muslim princes. In England the industrial revolution had taken place. To quote Sir Henry Cotton, writing in *New India:* "The invention of steam engines and the development of machinery enormously cheapened the cost of production to undersell the Indian artizans." The situation created by the selfish policy which England pursued towards Indians during the 19th century inflicted on her a wrong as grievous as any recorded in history, is thus summarised by Mr. Romesh Dutt:

It is, unfortunately, true that the East India Company and the British Parliament, following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago, discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British Rule in order to encourage the rising manufacturers of England. Their fixed policy, pursued during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the decades of the nineteenth, was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and to make the Indian people grow raw produce only in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain. This policy was pursued with unwavering resolution and with fatal success; orders were sent out to force Indian artizans to work in Company's factories, commercialr esidents were legally vested with extensive power over villages and communities of Indian weavers; prohibitive tariffs excluded Indian silk and cotton goods from England; English goods were admitted into India free of duty or on payment of a nominal duty.

The British manufacturers in the words of the historian H. H. Wilson, employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms; millions of Indian artizans lost their earnings; the population of India lost one great source of their wealth—a painful episode in the history of British rule in India; but it is a story which has to be told to explain the economic condition of the Indian people and their present helpless dependence on agriculture. The invention of the powerloom in Europe completed the decline of the Indian industries; when in recent years the powerloom was set up in India, England once more acted towards India with unfair jealousy and excise duty has been imposed on the production on the cotton fabrics in India which disabled the Indian manufacturer from competiting with the manufacturer of Japan and China and which stifles the new steam-mills of India. (*Economic History under Early British Rule*).

India, having no investment of capital for production purposes and state encouragement, developed under conditions unprecedented in the history of the country. No industry can flourish without much capital. "For industry," says Mill "limited by capital, industry cannot be employed to any greater extent than there is capital to invest." The situation was made worse by the constant economic drain which has practically bled the country white for the last 150 years. The East India Company were merchants as well as rulers of the country. In the former capacity they monopolised her trade while in the latter they appropriated her revenues. The remittance of Indian revenue to Europe generally made in the commodities of the country and by the export of its raw produce. These exports represented so much wealth being taken out of the country without, in the words of Lord Salisbury, "A direct equivalent"; in return the system acted very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames. "India, therefore," in the words of the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, "has materially retrograded in material prosperity under the British rule, in consequence of the policy hitherto pursued by our British rulers."

To sum up, the educational policy was responsible for the increase of unemployment and the closing of other avenues for the Muslims. The economic policy impoverished the Indian Muslims. In the Army their recruitment was limited: in arts and crafts they were crippled and rendered help-

less. The result of all these policies was the catastrophe of 1857, which no human power could have averted.

CHAPTER II

1857—BEFORE AND AFTER

We have just discussed how the Muslims were adversely affected by the educational, political and economic policies of the Company. In this chapter we propose to examine the causes which led to the upheaval of 1857, and its subsequent effects upon the Muslims. The British people, apart from their policy of dominating the Indians politically, were equally zealous about their missionary campaign. During the British regime many missionaries came to this country and propagated the Christian religion. Though outwardly the officials kept themselves unidentified with this propaganda, yet it is an open fact that the missionaries were not only morally but financially helped by the Government. They were also trying to introduce the western culture and civilisation which were foreign to the Indians. The policy of the Company had adversely affected the development of the Urdu language. Indian Muslims rightly believed that the British were inspired by a spirit of revenge and fear against the Muslims whom they wanted to keep down in order to strengthen their hold on the country. Lord Edinburgh, the Governor-General in 1842, had adopted a policy of oppression and intimidation,

all focussed against the Muslims. A British army official had written to the Duke of Willington:

> I am convinced that those persons who are living on our crusts, are not our well-wishers. On the contrary, I find that Hindus are rejoicing on our triumphs. When I am convinced of the enmity of the Muslims whose numerical strength is one-tenth of the population, then I feel no reason why we should not offer our help and support the remaining nine-tenths who are loyal and faithful to us. (Then again, in 1843, another responsible British official wrote). How can I shut my eyes to the realities that this generation of the Muslims who cannot tolerate our very existence can be friendly to us? Our real policy should be to treat with friendliness, and lend our support to the Hindus.

Whatever be the ultimate cause of the tragedy, it was certainly due to the reaction against the policy of the Company which found expression in armed resistance against the established political order. Misrule, oppression, economic exploitation all played their part in creating an atmosphere of distrust and resentment against the foreigners. The revolutions, in whatever countries they take place, are always the result of some deep-rooted causes. Nobody in the world will ever believe that the mere introduction of greased cartridges could be the cause of such an upheaval. The storm had been brewing for long and this particular incident naturally precipitated and worked like a matchstick in a petrol tank. It was the breaking-point of all human affinities, the focus of all diverging forces, evolved out of a reign of terror and misrule where the Tartar and Mongolian blood was on the

point of trickling down from the paralysed bodies of the Mussalmans. The British had worked up their emotions to such a pitch that the music of war must be played out though in the desperation of a dying heart that flickers to survive. Ramesh Chandra Dutt writes:

> There is no doubt that in the beginning the army revolted in the North and the Central parts of the country. But for certain political reasons this very revolution occupied the minds of the general public and it became a general conflagration.

It would be wrong to say that the army mutinied on account of any sense of patriotism for there are examples before us that this very Indian army was used against many of the Indian chiefs and they had unquestioningly obeyed the orders of their commanders who were all British. But their obedience cannot be construed to mean that religion had no hold on their minds. The treatment meted out to Indian princes and people which was not only humiliating but definitely derogatory to self-respect, could not be tolerated for long. Everywhere there was discontentment and murmuring. The famine, the epidemic and the economic discontent added to the already existing confusion. Different rumours were circulated and given currency to prepare people to fight for a cause much deeper and nobler. The whole population was so much agitated that only a spark was needed to set it aflame. The Hindus in the army were the first to refuse the use of the cartridges. Their refusal was considered a breach of discipline, their leaders were severely

punished and humiliated before the whole army, but the discontent was too widespread. From Meerut the rebel army marched to Delhi where the last Mughal Emperor was still occupying the throne of Delhi, with his flag still flying over the fort, but exercising no authority or power. They had no other aim except to take revenge on the British. The army had neither organisation which could prolong the fight in a systematic manner nor any trained general who could guide its destinies. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas were openly siding with the British people. For the Sikhs, it was an opportunity of fulfilling their vow of sacking Delhi, and this was a dream which they had long cherished. The opportunity offered itself and they did not hesitate to avail themselves of it. The Gurkhas had also some reasons to be loyal and became the mainstay of the British army. Soon after, the storm which began in 1857, began to decrease. The British people meted out exemplary and in some cases inhuman punishments on the rebels after their triumph. Summary trials were conducted and people were hanged in large numbers every day. Sir Theodore Morrison says:

> In 1857, came the catastrophe of the Mutiny, for which, the English believed wrongly, that the Muslims were mainly responsible; the phantom of the Mughal Emperor was abolished, the noble families which had followed his fallen fortunes were ruined or dispersed, and Delhi ceased to be a Muslim city. All over India Muslim civilization was in evident decay. The Maulvis, the religious leaders of the people, from a mistaken loyalty to Islam, forbade their followers under pain or

eternal damnation from acquiring the learning of the Firanghis (Franks, i.e., Europeans). The Muslims were thereby excluded from all the liberal professions. For the public services a knowledge of English had now become indispensable; law, medicine, and engineering had been revolutionized by the introduction of European ideas and could only be studied to any purpose in English text-books. While Bengalis, Hindus, Madrasis and Marathas, inspired by the arts and sciences of Europe, were experiencing an intellectual and moral renaissance, the Muslims all over India were falling into a state of material indigence and intellectual decay.

The rule of India had now finally passed from the Muslim into the English hands by slow and imperceptible degrees that intervened between the battle of Plassy and the Indian Mutiny. In spite of the *fait accompli* the Muslims had no sympathy with the new rulers of India, as the new civilisation and culture which was forced on them was alien to them. This storm of suspicion and hatred which had gathered momentum for a whole century at last burst in 1857. As a result the Muslims suffered most from the vindictive attitude of the British, and the whole generation of Mussalmans kept sedulously aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They, in no way, took advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the whole country. It was a natural sign of this attitude of the Mussalmans who sulked in their rank, that when nearly 13 years later the new educated

class of Indians who owed their training to the English, inaugurated a political movement on Western lines, Indian Mussalmans should be unfit on account of lack of education to participate in that movement.

It was at that time when most of the present-day political leaders of their community were not even born, that Syed Ahmad Khan, a subordinate Judge at Moradabad in the United Provinces, put before the Government of India and the leaders of public opinion in England, a scheme for the introduction of representative Government in India. The greatest work and the most inspired service which saved many of the remaining but ruined families of the Muslims was a pamphlet on the causes of the Mutiny by Syed Ahmad Khan. The method he adopted in bringing his views to the notice of men of opinion in England and of the Government of India was very unlike the methods usually employed today. Out of the five hundred copies of the pamphlet printed, 498 were sent for distribution to the notables in England and one was sent to the Government of India, only one, being retained by the author himself. Not a single copy was circulated in India. In the pamphlet on the Indian revolution which he wrote in 1888, at a time when the Great conflagration of 1857 had not yet died out and martial law was still in force and hardships were being inflicted on those who were suspected of harbouring unfriendly feelings against the British in India, he frankly blamed the Government for having committed many sins of commission and omission, regardless of the consequences

of such a condemnation and also declared that the one great cause of the Mutiny was that the Government was not well informed about the conditions and feelings of the people which was due to their exclusion from the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. He further declared, "Had the Indians been represented in the Council, the grievances of the people would have been communicated from time to time to their rulers, and reasonable satisfaction offered by the latter." This, it must be noted, was the opinion of Syed Ahmad Khan more than half a century ago and its expression in a satisfactory manner was not the work of a sycophant or a worshipper of the idol of expediency. For Syed Ahmad Khan held a Government office and that too, of no low order as judged by the conditions then.

In 1883, in the course of a discussion on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, Syed Ahmad Khan said:

> I am convinced that no part of India has yet arrived at the stage when the system of representation can be adopted, in its fullest scope, even in regard to local affairs. The principle of self-government by means of representative institutions is, perhaps, the greatest and noblest lesson which the beneficence of England will teach India. But, in borrowing from England the system of representative institutions, it is of the greatest importance to remember those socio-political matters in which India is distinguishable from England. The present socio-political condition of India is the outcome of the history of centuries of despotism and misrule, of the dominancy of race over race, of religion over religion.

Traditions and feelings of the people and their present economic and political condition are in a vast measure influenced and regulated by the history of the past; the humanizing effects of the British rule have not yet demolished the remembrance of the days of strife and discord which preceded the peace brought to India by the British supremacy. India, a continent in itself, is inhabited by vast populations of different races and different creeds; the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart, the system of caste is still dominant and powerful. In one and the same district the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities; and whilst one section of the population commands wealth and commerce, the other may possess learning and influence. One section may be numerically larger than the other, and the standard of enlightenment which one section of the community has reached may be far higher than that attained by the rest of the population. One community may be fully alive to the importance of securing representation on the local boards and district councils, whilst the other may be wholly indifferent to such matters. Under these circumstances, it is hardly possible to deny that the introduction of representative institutions in India will be attended with considerable difficulty and socio-political risks......The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the section of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local board and district councils, would be attended with

> evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed, and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever.

It was in 1885, that there came into existence the political association which styled itself as the Indian National Congress, and which very soon attracted to itself a good deal of public attention. Syed Ahmad Khan closely watched the movement for three years, but when he found that it was not moderate and reasonable in its aspirations, nor was it sufficiently careful about the interests of minorities, and was very far from being respectful or fair in its tone as regards its relations with the Government of the country, or the ruling race, he did not hesitate to warn his co-religionists that participation in an agitation such as the Congress advocated, was against their best interests.

The Indian National Congress adopted this attitude owing to the reactionary policy of Lord Lytton. The Ilbert Bill, the Afghan War, the costly Indian Durbar and the sacrifice of cotton import duties were in the beginning the first blow to the Indian sentiment. Lord Lytton introduced the Ilbert Bill. This was greatly resented by the Anglo-

Indians "some of whom put themselves into a conspiracy to overthrow the sentries of the Government House and to put the Viceroy on board of a steamer at Champall Ghat and send him to England via the Cape." The Bill was modified and the success of the Anglo-Indians awakened the Indians who were not slow to realise that the enthusiasm to the opposition of the Bill was due to a feeling of racial superiority. In 1883, a Political Conference was started under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjee and Anand Mohan Bose. From this we may trace the origin of the Congress. For fifty years and more before the inauguration of the Congress, the Hindus were already at work. In fact there was evidence of a new life as early as the time of Ram Mohan Roy who along with Macaulay had given his support to English being made the medium of education as against any Indian language. In 1858, three universities were established and it is a curious coincidence that just thirty years after the introduction of English education, the educated class of the Hindus began to claim political rights and established the Indian National Congress; similarly the Muslim League was founded as a result of the clamour of the Muslim educated class who were coming out of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, more than thirty years ago. There is no denying the fact that these agitators were all Hindus who were benefited by the Western education. The Muslims had kept themselves aloof both from education and agitation.

So it was in 1885, that the first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held. Though the Congress tried to enlist Muslim delegates, yet at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great pioneer of Western education amongst Mussalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historical speeches, one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Mussalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement.

Maulana Mohammad Ali in his presidential address of the Congress at Coconada, said :

> Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation today when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Mussalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Mussalmans.
>
> Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a persona grata to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the bete noire of the pious Muslim. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap-trap could

have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

Syed Ahmad Khan firmly believed that for political understanding a grounding in Western education is not only essential but indispensable and for this very reason he centred his entire energies on the propagation of Western education amongst the Mussalmans. In this self-imposed task he was stoutly opposed by the Ulemas who wielded a considerable influence over the minds of the illiterate people. But he was a man who genuinely believed in the progress of the Mussalmans through education alone and for this reason he decided to face all kinds of opposition. Few people today will find fault with his right move in stoutly counteracting the menace of the Ulemas who for sheer bankruptcy of political insight gave such advice. Some people including Mr. Jawaharlal have ruthlessly criticised Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's policy. It is interesting to note what an Englishman thought of this loyal and faithful subject of His Majesty and how far this can be said to be right will be shown by a passage from Maulana Mohammad Ali's address:

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmad Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the public service, an old English official asked him who, he thought, was the greatest rebel in India against British rule. And correcting my brother's answer, that experienced official had declared

that it was no other than Syed Ahmad Khan, loyalist of loyalists. When my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said: "Do you think young Mussalmans who are being taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services. No. Mr. Shaukat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your loyal Syed Ahmad Khan that is the archrebel of today."

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan learnt that undue pressure was being brought to bear on the Muslims to join the Congress sessions to be held at Madras and various inducements were being offered to the more pliable among them to join that body and every Mussalman who joined it was claiming to be the representative of the whole Muslim community, he resolved at once on calling a meeting of the Mussalmans who had assembled at Lucknow for the second session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference in the X'mas week of 1887, and addressed them in a remarkable speech on the 28th December which decided once for all the attitude of the whole community towards the Congress. No Mussalman of note since then joined the Congress except one or two. Even Syed Ahmad Khan's co-religionists who differed from his views on religious, educational and social matters and opposed him violently followed him in politics and preserved their isolation from the Congress. Syed Ahmad did not make any departure from his political creed. What he had once chosen as a

guide of his conscience was the mission of his life, to which he stuck firmly. He was still the same Syed Ahmad Khan as in 1858 and 1883. He advocated both the representative government on one hand and neighbourly feelings of good-will between all the communities on the other, but, just as in 1883 he had considered certain modifications in the elective system of government necessary for real representation, so even now, five years later, he deprecated all attempts at the introduction of the Western principles of government into the East, with complete disregard of the safeguards, for the minorities under absolutely different conditions prevailing in this country.

The Lucknow speeches of 28th December 1887, and the Meerut Lecture of 16th March, 1888, were followed by the organised efforts of the Patriotic Association in August, 1888, which did a great deal to convince the British public that the Congress was not a "National" body. The martial races of India such as the Rajputs, Mussalmans, Gurkhas and Sikhs were conspicuous by their absence from it and even the Hindus of Upper India were indifferent to its agitation.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was well aware that in case the Mussalmans joined any agitation, they would not confine themselves to the bounds of moderation. The circumstances demanded that their existence should be preserved, their life should be assured and peaceful development be assured. He was aware that even in 1857, when the Hindus had equal responsibility for the general distur-

bance, the Muslims were the greatest sufferers. The responsibility for the Mutiny was fastened on to their shoulders, fact corroborated by a Bengal citizen, Harington Thomas in "India's Mutiny and our after-policy." It was but natural that Syed Ahmad Khan realising the consequences of such an impression, took steps to rehabilitate the character of the Mussalmans and to clear all misunderstandings which were bound to affect adversely the peaceful progress of Muslims in India under their new masters.

The Congress soon after its birth started criticism of the policy of the British Government, in not very mild terms. Revolutionary literature was widely circulated and attempts were made to organise another united front against the British. It was, therefore, prudent at this time to give the Muslims an advice based on reason and political experience. Syed Ahmad Khan had fully realised that the Indian people had lost the vigour and the force that could overthrow the present form of Government. In 1860, Syed Ahmad Khan wrote an illuminating pamphlet on the conditions then prevailing. In the preface to it he says:

> There is no calamity in these days which was not attributed to the Muslims without minding that its originators may be the followers of Ram Din and Mata Din, and there is no doubt that any calamity which fell from the firmament might not have come straight to some Mohammadan house bringing ruin and destruction.

Syed Ahmad Khan refuted all the charges and gave a crushing reply to the campaign of vilifica-

tion against the Muslims which was the fashion of the day.

From 1858 right up to 1898, Syed Ahmad Khan was the pivot round whom the Muslim politics moved. Syed Ahmad Khan knew well that during the regime of the East India Company the Mussalmans had received a serious blow and he did not expect the Muslims to fare any the better during the days of the Crown. For it is a historical fact that the victors have always crushed the vanquished. His whole policy was to make education popular and to give the youth a type of training which may enable them to take a proper and effective share in the life of the country whether political or educational. His efforts in the beginning were also directed to bring about amicable relations between the various communities of India. But he was very soon disillusioned.

In 1866 he established a British India Association whose sole aim, in his own words, was that "Indians should come into contact with the Parliament for the preservation of their interests." The object of this Association was to form a link between the Indians and the representatives of the Crown in India. The membership of the organisation was open to all creeds and communities. Some useful work was done by this Association. The Government virtually agreed to establish a university in which the medium of instruction was to be vernacular. At a time when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan started his educational propaganda the total number of Muslim graduates was only 26 as against

1652 in the Hindu community. When such a disparity existed between educated classes of the two major communities, how could the leaders of the Muslim community in India, for a single moment, think that the Muslims would be able to take their proper and effective place in any organisation where the heads were counted and votes taken, and in such a system give their opinion, which would carry weight and influence with the members of other communities who were receiving proper Western education. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan did not take a favourable attitude towards this system of representative government and openly declared that it was neither suited for this country nor desirable amongst a people who fundamentally differed in their religious, social and political outlook from each other. He, therefore, warned the British Government that if they continued this ridiculous policy, it would be more ruinous in the end than the horrors of 1857. Sir Syed warned the British when occasion demanded and at the same time expressed friendly feelings towards the British whose hold in this country was now a *fait accompli*.

Having established the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, Sir Syed rightly thought that the time was ripe for the Muslims to take their legitimate place in the politics of the country and contribute their share to the improvement of the nation, and for this very reason he established another organisation under the name of "The Upper India Defence Association of the Mohammadans,"

about which something will be said in the next chapter.

Sir Syed was deeply moved and affected by the happenings of 1857, and he was trying his level best to help the Mussalmans so that they might be able to regain their lost prestige and position and may march forward abreast with their countrymen. He knew that according to an oriental poet who said after the catastrophe. "There is no misfortune descended from heaven to the earth which does not seek for its resting place the dwellings of Mohammadans." Long and anxiously he pondered over the events of the terrible crisis that had passed over the country and he was convinced that the unfounded calumny against the Mohammadans was without foundation. In one of his writings Sir Syed Ahmad remarked:

> There was no prickly plant in those awful times respecting which it was not said that it was planted by Mohammadans.

While condemning the rebellions he was convinced that the British people in their turn had failed to understand the Mohammadan mind. He, however, believed that Mohammadans were suffering for their own faults because of their conservatism, which forced the Mussalmans to confine themselves to the thoughts and aspirations of the 19th century. To overcome this he proposed to launch a great movement for changing the very outlook of the Mohammadans, reconcile them to the policy of intellectual enlightenment, so that inde-

pendence of mind and political liberation should no longer be accounted as heterodox. While Sir Syed was concentrating his energy in this direction, some of the bigoted "Mullas" were trying to persuade the Mussalmans not to join hands with him. Some accused him of preaching atheism, others of polluting the religion. The "Futawa" of the "Ulemas" were widely circulated in which it was mentioned:

> In this case no assistance is legal to the institution. May God destroy it and its founder. No Mohammadan is allowed to give assistance to or countenance the establishment of such an institution. It is moreover the duty of the faithful to destroy it if it be established and to chastise to the utmost those who are friendly to it.

After these "Futawas" were fulminated against Syed Ahmad Khan by the learned yet short-sighted Doctors of Mecca, the opposition became all the more intensified, but Syed Ahmad's energy and enthusiasm were not damped by such sinister imputations and allegations. He worked quietly, prepared to suffer even a painful death in the realisation of his purpose. In 1872 Sir Syed Ahmad had once more to wield his pen, in defence of Mohammadans as they were attacked by the Hon. W. W. Hunter, who painted them as disloyal to the British rule. After his retirement from the Government service, Syed Ahmad Khan concentrated his entire energies in establishing the M. A. O. College at Aligarh. He was successful in his attempts and the great College was founded with a view to imparting

education both secular and religious. His Excellency the Viceroy, who was invited to lay the foundation-stone of M. A. O. College, said:

> The well-known vigour of the Mohammadan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Heracules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put on his shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted. I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulder to the wheel.

Having thus succeeded in his mission of establishing an educational institution, Syed Ahmad Khan thought it best not to lose sight of the ultimate object of education. Sir Syed believed in the political destiny of the Mussalmans and to that end he desired to fit out every Muslim with all the knowledge essential to pursue their destiny and realise their personality. He visualised in his own times a picture of the position of the Muslim in the future, without radically changing the entire outlook of life. The Hindus were making long strides in every direction, while the Muslims clung to the dead past. Sir Syed was never hostile either to the British as such or to the Hindus. He always considered Hindus and Muslims as the two beautiful eyes of mother India. He wanted the Indian people to represent their cause before the Parliament and regretted their differences even in the matter of such national issues. Sir Syed in a speech said:

It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. *Can you expect that body to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it*?......The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London with branch associations in India, in order to have Indian affairs and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants, brought prominently to the notice of Parliament; *but unless the entire native community is out here to co-operate with them*, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost, the natives of India will be unrepresented, and you will only have yourself to reproach when in after-years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

I am afraid that a feeling of fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented were you to inaugurate a measure like this, deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought factious and discontented? Believe me, that this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded; and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of a pleasure and hope such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. *If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English than if you remain, as you now are, apathetic and dependent*......Such a state of affairs is inimical to the well-being of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government.

The establishment of Patriotic Association and Defence Organisation was the natural outcome of Syed Ahmad's educational policy. He was not averse to any kind of political activity except that he believed that to understand and to shape the political destinies of the people the Western education was indispensable. Some people have accused Syed Ahmad Khan for organising the Mussalmans on purely denominational basis. This is too narrow a view to take. Syed Ahmad Khan in statesmanlike spirit visualised the future that was ahead of him and with a sense of responsibility he adopted the line of action which would save the coming generations from political annihilation. Later events only proved the soundness of his judgment.

Mr. C. F. Andrews admits in his book, "The Rise and Growth of the Congress," that "the community that suffered most at the hands of the British when the mutiny had been quelled was that of the Muslims," that "the rebellion was regarded, quite unjustly, as having had its origin among them," and that "the one man who broke the spell of this desperate state of affairs was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan." Under such circumstances no other policy except the one adopted by Sir Syed could help the Muslims. He struck the right note at the right time and complained of an unjust and unfair treatment meted out to the Muslims. His appeal went home because it came from the depth of a sincere heart. Having gained the lost confidence of the British, Sir Syed concentrated his energies in making

the Mussalmans self-sufficient enough to understand that though they lost the Empire, yet they were the descendants of a martial race which once ruled over the destinies of the millions of people. In 1884, when Surendranath Banerjee started his tour enlisting the support of the Indian people for the agitation, of which he was the pioneer to raise the age limit for the students of the Indian Civil Service from 19 to 21, and to the simultaneous examination in India, Sir Syed welcomed him and did put his own signature on the memorial submitted to the Secretary of State for India. But very soon came into existence the organisation of Bengal National League and the publication of the various papers like the *Star in the West*, militant in character and abusive in language and tone, creating sedition in the mind of the people and infusing a new turbulent spirit. Sir Syed thought it advisable to sever his connections from the agitation started by the Bengalees, for he did not wish to identify the Muslims with any kind of such agitation. Agitation among the Muslims meant the raising of a rebellion and Sir Syed was not prepared to run the risk. Soon after the Congress demanded the introduction of the representative institutions in India and the demand for holding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service was emphasised. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan knew well that the Mussalmans were not going to be benefited by either of them. He knew one meaning of the representative government and that was the rule of the majority community over the minority, that is the Muslims.

The introduction of simultaneous examinations could only provide some more jobs for the Hindus at the expense of the Muslims who were backward in education. But above all he was averse to any kind of agitation against the Government which would arouse its suspicion and afford another opportunity for repression. The Urdu-Hindi controversy started at Benares had already disappointed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. The tone and the press agitation in support of Congress ideals made him all the more suspicious of the Hindu designs. A dispassionate study of the book, "A Nation in Making" by Sir Surendranath Banerjee leaves no room for doubt that the Hindu community which was the pioneer of the Congress movement had from the very day of its inception, adopted a kind of nationalism suited to the Hindu mind. How could Sir Syed acquiesce in it? His opposition kept the Muslims as a body aloof from the Congress although the Congress people made frantic efforts to win over the confidence of the Muslims, but their efforts could not shake the iron wall of defence. There can be no doubt that a man of Sir Syed's genius could never advise the Mussalmans to sign the death warrant by joining an organisation which was speaking in different terms.

In spite of the grave warnings of Sir Syed the Indian National Congress from its very beginning, forgot the lessons of history and paying no heed to the realities tried to agitate for the representative government in the interest of the Hindus. Sir Syed could hardly reconcile himself to a demand

in which the Muslims had no place in the sun. He could not understand how Maharattas, Brahmins, Chhutris, Sikhs, Bengalees, Madrasees, Peshawaries, be members of one nation when all of them fundamentally differed in their religious, social and political outlook. The fusion between the Indian nations was impossible. The Hindus themselves are divided in thousands of castes and sub-castes. Realising all this Mr. Beck, the late principal of M. A. O. College, in one of his addresses in England remarked:

> The parliamentary system in India is most unsuited and the experiment would prove futile if representative institution is introduced. The Muslims will be under the majority opinion of the Hindus, a thing which will be highly resented by Muslims and which, I am sure, they will not accept quietly.

Sir Syed, while he was not averse to Hindu-Muslim unity, was not prepared to sacrifice the interest of his nation, and as Maulana Mohammad Ali in his speech delivered in 1908 League session at Amritsar, remarked, "At any rate the Muslims cannot be expected to take poisonous cup and drink it to the dregs without a murmur as a martyr to the unity of India." Talking of unity he said:

> The sanctimonious apostles of unity contend that the interests of Mohammadans do not differ from those of Hindus and if the wish was father to the thought, I would say Amen. But let us not be ruined by political ambiguities. When they talk of interests, let us ask of what interests they talk. The ultimate interests of Hindus and Mohammadans are certainly the same. They were

> the same when Sivaji revolted against Aurangzeb or when the situation described in "Anand Math" existed. The interests, in that sense, of the whole of humanity are the same. The ultimate interests of all men are identical......The position of different societies in the scale of political evolution is judged according to the degree to which each has eliminated the personal equation from the principles that guide it in its system of Government. It is, therefore, a retrograde step in our political evolution to leave us at the mercy of an angelic majority that invariably thinks of the unity of India's ultimate interest.

Sir Syed also wrote a detailed letter to the "Pioneer" explaining the position as regards the Congress which was published in that very year.

If today the Muslim community has made up much of its lee way and gained power, that it had lost during the later half of the 19th century, it is due to Sir Syed who, in the words of Mr. C. F. Andrews, "held with all the strength of a life-long conviction that the Muslims in India must stand by themselves." Sir Syed's contribution to the Muslim politics and his advice at a most critical juncture to the Muslims of India, call for serious reflection.

CHAPTER III

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE MOHAMMADAN

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, soon after giving a timely warning to the Government, seriously considered a proposal to establish an organisation as the chief agency for placing the Muslim point of view before the Government. In this very connection Sir Syed before his death, had convened a meeting on Dec. 30, 1893, attended by many leading Mussalmans and some others including Mr. Beck, then principal of M. A. O. College and who took a keen interest in the affairs of Mussalmans. The question which aroused considerable interest was the consideration of the line of action which the Mussalmans should follow in political matters. Four alternatives were discussed: (1) Should the Muslims join the Hindu agitation? (2) Should they set up a counter agitation? (3) Should they keep out of politics and devote their energies solely to education? (4) Should they adopt a modified line of political activity which would be neither complete political inactivity nor active agitation amongst the people? It is important to bear in mind that amongst the English educated class the number of Mohammadans at that time was only 546 as against 4987,

and that the invitations issued to attend the session of the Congress were strictly confined to the English speaking persons. The great disparity in number between the Muslims and the Hindu graduates left little hope of equal or effective representation being given to the Muslims. It was evidently impossible for the Mussalmans to have identified themselves with the Congress programme. Secondly, there was the fear that all agitations would assume a religious complexion. For, the masses are influenced much more easily by an appeal to religious than to political sentiments. It was, therefore, considered unwise and impolitic to plunge the Mussalmans in any kind of political agitation. At the same time every one was convinced that the growth of political ideas amongst the youths of India could not be arrested for any length of time and further no equitable treatment could be expected from the Hindus. When the elective councils were formed, the Government completely ignored the fact that the Muslims were utterly ignorant of any kind of elective system. Even in England, Lord Salisbury said in a public speech that it would be impossible for England to hand over the Indian Mohammadans to the tender mercies of a hostile numerical majority. But the Indian Government in establishing an elective system completely ignored the proper representation of Mohammadan interests. On the other hand Mussalmans contended that "Mohammadans would be found but they will be, who from ignorance, self-interest or greatness of soul, will consent to stand as representatives of Hindu interest and

support a Hindu policy."

It was the desire of the Mussalmans to secure a genuine Mohammadan representation and that according to which the members should be real representatives of the Mussalmans having been elected by them. The Mohammadans had long remained inactive and the Government had not fully realised the importance of treating the Mohammadan elements as a separate political unit. Being exposed to such danger if they took to political agitation, and on the other hand, almost certain to suffer if they did nothing, the Mussalmans preferred to form and unite into an association for the purpose of representing Mohammadan interests before the public in England and the Government of India.

Unfortunately the cruel hand of death removed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and it was left to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to take up the thread again. The idea of the formation of a Defence Association was undoubtedly seriously mooted but had not produced any tangible result. The country was in the grip of a new movement. The youths and the masses were being exploited and their enthusiasm was being worked up by catch-words and phrases. It was evidently becoming difficult to stem the tide. The number of Muslim graduates was quickly increasing. The Hindus who had made sufficient strides in the field of education had equipped themselves with necessary political education and experience. They had already monopolised the trade. The Congress which had also attached

great importance to the employment of Indians in the Public Service and particularly in what were known as the covenanted services had taken up the question with a view to attract the attention of the unemployed youths. The literature which was being published in the country was creating disaffection against the Government. It was once more said that the days of the British were now numbered, but such ideas were merely fantastic and no man with practical political sense could entertain such an idea for a single moment. The Mussalmans after the calamity of 1857, had developed a sense of reality and, therefore, tenaciously adhered to the policy of Sir Syed even after his death.

Events were happening fast and the lines on which the future development was to take place was foreshadowed in the action and the speeches of the Mussalmans. The Hindus had definitely turned hostile to the Mussalmans for they had not fallen in with their political programme and had considered it impolitic to take part in their agitation. The atmosphere was full of suspicion and distrust, and at any time the pent-up hostility may find expression in public conduct. The Urdu-Hindi controversy which had been raging for long in the United Provinces was again revived after Sir Syed's death. It was not so vigorously pursued in other provinces. The Congress had allied itself with this new move. In 1867, a few influential Hindus at Benares contemplated the removal of Urdu language and Persian character

from all Government offices and to replace it with Hindi and Deva Nagri script. With this object in view various committees were formed with a central committee at Allahabad. Funds were collected and organised agitation started throughout the country. During this time the Bihar Hindus were more enthusiastic in their response to this agitation and at such a time the Governor of Bengal ordered the removal of Urdu language from all government offices in Bihar. Well-intentioned Hindus of Bihar also protested against this order of the Governor but their protests were unheeded. These happenings in Bihar encouraged the organisers of this agitation at Benares and they got a new impetus to carry on the agitation but met with little success. The Benares agitation with the co-operation of the Punjab in 1882, re-started this agitation and submitted a memorial to the Royal Commission of Education, but Sir Syed Ahmad Khan came forward and took the wind out of its sails. By his successful handling and manipulation the onslaught of the Hindus on the Urdu language which was actuated on account of racial prejudice and hatred was successfully repelled. In 1898, when Sir Antony became the Lt. Governor of the United Provinces, the agitation received a fresh impetus. In Sir Antony, the Hindus found a great friend and the Muslims were soon disillusioned. On the 18th April, 1900, he issued a circular giving effect to the wishes of the Hindus. This circular awakened the Muslims from their long slumber who were seriously affected by this resolution in matters

of education, trade, commerce, law and other professions. Secondly, it was a serious blow to the Hindu-Muslim relations. It was in Aligarh that Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk convened a conference of leading Muslims of the province which adopted a strongly worded resolution of protest against the circular and asked the Government to reconsider its decision. It was further resolved to submit a memorial on behalf of the Muslims before the Government. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqaru-ul-Mulk became the guiding stars in Muslim politics. It were they who were to steer the ship of the Muslims clear of the storm that had gathered in all sides.

With their experience and political vision, they soon managed to be the orbit round which the whole political machinery of the Muslims moved. People flocked to them and carried on their behests placing implicit faith in their counsels and actions. They had to leave the service of Hyderabad State owing to the treacherous conspiracy of the British Resident and his henchmen. They had been responsible for the introduction of many reforms in the state and had distinguished themselves as statesmen and administrators of extraordinary ability. The loss of Hyderabad was the gain of British India. Eminently fitted for the task they threw themselves in the new sphere of activities and the Mussalmans fully benefited from their ripe experience and energy and their realistic knowledge of Indian politics. They knew British diplomacy, having had experience of it in the Indian states. Sir Syed's

political training in all essentials lent them credit and dignity in the eyes of the public. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was shocked deeply by these events and in a stirring speech asked the Mussalmans to present a united front against the Government communique and made it clear that by such measures they were not acting either out of hostility or actuated by any retaliatory measure against the Hindus, but were ventilating the legitimate grievances of the Muslims. Sir Antony lost his temper on this sudden rise of feelings among Muslims and in an open speech at Benares justified his action and tried to refute the charges of the Muslims of unjust and harsh treatment. The Mussalmans knew well that their feelings could not be pacified by mere words. A few Muslim landlords who had participated in the Aligarh movement very soon retracted their steps after knowing the views and anger of the Lt. Governor. But the feelings had been roused and the Mussalmans animated with a new enthusiasm resolved to push forward their claims. A representative meeting of Urdu Defence Association was held in Lucknow, on the 18th August, 1900, under the presidentship of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. The Nawab Saheb, in moving the resolution, assured the Government of the steadfast loyalty of the Muslims to the Crown and made it clear that by such actions they did not mean to injure the feelings of their Hindu brethren, but he could not help giving serious warning to the Government about the set-back which the Urdu language was bound to receive and had received

by the action of the Government and said:

> Although we have not the might of pen in our hands and the pen we have is lacking in force and for this very reason there is the absence of the Mussalmans in the offices, but our hands are still strong enough to wield the might of the sword.

He then further asked the Government to treat the Muslims justly, and expressed the hope that Urdu as language would never die in spite of the heavy odds arrayed against it. This was for the first time after 1857, that the Mussalmans expressed themselves strongly from a political platform. The Lt. Governor was much exasperated and took the whole thing as a personal affront. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk tried to remove this misunderstanding and sought an interview with the Lt. Governor in reply to which the Private Secretary wrote back:

> I am desired by his Honour to say that it is quite unnecessary for you to give yourself trouble of a journey to Nainital for the purpose of personally laying before His Honour your views on the Urdu Nagari question when a written communication will suit the purpose equally well.

Sir Antony was so much obsessed with his personal views on the matter that no man of fairness could wean him from the path that he had chosen to tread. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk also considered the whole matter as a national calamity. He personally went to Lucknow and delivered a stirring speech in which he revealed the Muslim

mind. His Honour the Lt. Governor went out of his way in convening a meeting of the trustees of the M. A. O. College and warning them that in case the Honorary Secretary did not dissociate himself from the movement, the Government would discontinue the grant to the College. The policy of Government was one of intimidation and coercion in asking the Muslims to submit to the dictates of the Government and not to raise any voice of protest, notwithstanding the fact that the grievances were real and genuine. The Hindu press and public, welcoming the Governor's circular, took a very narrow and hostile attitude towards the Mussalmans.

As a result of all this it was finally decided that the Muslims must form a political association to safeguard their interests. Views were expressed freely in the press and on platform as to the ways for ameliorating the existing conditions. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk came out in the field of active politics and wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in a memorable letter:

> In the manner in which Muslim rights are being trampled upon and attacked from all sides and the tone of the number of articles that are being published against us, it is impossible for the Muslims to keep their tongue tied and be a mere passive observer. Who can deny that by such moves Muslims will not be hit hard? To remain indifferent to this and to be stagnant and to concentrate all our energies in making mere education popular is an ideal impossible to achieve and act upon.

After this Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk concentrated

his entire energies in this direction and openly confessed that no useful purpose would be served by continuing to act like this and cry like women when adversely affected. Neither any purpose would be served by shifting the blame on to the shoulders of the Government or the members of other communities. He advised the Muslims to take stock of their miserable condition and then to devise ways and means for the preservation of their identity and rights. The move was welcomed from all quarters and the task of organisation was entrusted to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. He entered into a long correspondence with the leading Muslims of the different provinces and convened a representative committee in Lucknow towards the end of 1901, with a view to chalk out a future plan of action. In addressing the meeting Nawab Saheb drew the attention to the various moves initiated in the different provinces which seriously jeopardised their existence and trampled upon their legitimate rights. He was constrained to note that the degeneration of the Muslims politically was complete. Recapitulating the events he remarked that the only alternative left was to form a Muslim Association in every province with district and town branches. This suggestion was readily accepted and then he published the whole scheme and undertook long and strenuous journeys in various parts of the country.

The association which styled itself as the Political and Social Organization of the Muslims was formed at Aligarh and Muslims rallied under

its banner from all quarters. But owing to his long absence from India, Nawab Saheb could not make it successful. It, however, succeeded in infusing hope into the minds of the Mussalmans and on the occasion of the formation of the Simla Deputation an enormous number of suggestions poured in from different Muslim associations, one of them being the Muslim League of the Punjab, which was the first organisation to call itself as the Muslim League.

From 1901 onward the move for the establishment of this new organisation was engaging public attention. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was an ardent supporter of it. But the Government became suspicious and looked at every movement of the Mussalmans with suspicion. Even a non-political school as Nadvatul Ulema was opposed by the Government of the day, but Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk by successful handling, succeeded in its promotion. With the establishment of the Indian National Congress all the Hindu Associations like the one for the preservation of the cows, which was established as late as 1893, by Bal Gangadhar Tilak received fresh impetus and support from the National Congress. Such a move embittered the feelings of the two communities which found expression in several communal riots. Congress leaders were convening meetings everywhere and exploiting the religious sentiments of the Hindus. The Mussalmans could not be expected to be passive observers of all these insidious activities. They had already protested against the movement for the

preservation of the cows, which has hitherto remained a bone of contention. The responsibility for all these events lay on the shoulders of the educated class who, by spoken and written words, created violence which disturbed the even progress of the country along constitutional lines.

At this juncture came the question of the partition of Bengal. The province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, whose total population stood at 7,08,00,000 was under one Lt. Governor. Lord Curzon, and his advisers thought on purely administrative grounds that it was humanly impossible to govern effectively so vast an area. Moreover the political stir in the country and the conflict of interest put great pressure on the Indian and the English staff, who found it difficult to meet all the contingencies and emergencies which arose. The partition of Bengal was considered a means to meet the situation. The political leaders of Calcutta were opposed to it. They began to protest loudly that by this move the British Government wanted to strike a blow on the national government. The Government's measures were prompted by the need for the efficiency of which Lord Curzon was a great protagonist. For this very reason in July, 1905, the Government issued a communique and in October, 1905, the scheme was given effect to in a definite form. The Musalmans who were subjected to the greatest hardships both by the Government and the Hindus found in this measure some relief and welcomed the Government move. It is difficult to deny that the Hindus had a dominant hand

in all the affairs in Bengal. They had already monopolised all the offices ranging from ordinary clerkship to the highest post open to an Indian and virtually held control of the whole province. This monopoly was not only opposed by the Musalmans of the Eastern Bengal but by the Hindus of Orissa. The Hindus, whose domination was adversely affected, began to organise opposition to this measure. Volunteers were recruited, papers were circulated and vigorous propaganda was carried on. In the new province of Eastern Bengal things grew worse and as Mr. Lovett wrote in his book on the History of the Indian National Movement:

> As purely sentimental appeals were ineffectual to excite sufficient popular sympathy, the leaders of the anti-partition movement searching for a national hero endeavoured to import from Bombay the cult of Sivaji and appealed to the religion of the multitude by placing their efforts under the patronage of Kali, the goddess of strength and destruction.

With the happening in the Eastern Bengal, the Muslims of the whole of India were deeply affected, their feelings were aroused and they seriously thought of establishing a real and effective political organization, representative in character and stable and strong in its composition. The Congress allied itself with the move to annul the partition of Bengal. The question became a burning topic for the people and was discussed both by the Muslim League and the Congress till it was nullified on the occasion of Delhi Durbar.

Although the Muslims were in a numerical majority in the province, they were virtually under the domination of the Hindus. There can be no doubt that the responsibility for this rests with Muslim shoulders who did not realise the change which the changed circumstances had brought in, earlier. They were lacking in any kind of guidance and there was not a single Muslim placed in a high position who could lead them and warn them of the dangers that were looming ahead. The Ulemas who considered themselves the torch-bearers of Muslim religion asked the Muslims to refrain from acquiring English education and led them ever into the abyss of ignorance and apathetic listlessness. They did not allow the Muslims to develop among themselves any spirit which could fight against poverty, illiteracy, or which could enable them to occupy positions of responsibility. Their degradation was so complete that for a time it was impossible for them to compete with their sister community. It could not be expected that the Hindus would take any broader view of things and allow their Muslim brothers any scope of living. The partition presented new opportunities for the Muslims of Eastern Bengal to redress their grievances and repair the losses which they had suffered. Everywhere the Muslims rejoiced and the different speeches delivered on occasions reveal how the Muslims welcomed and rejoiced and considered it a measure of great statesmanship and justice to them. Everywhere a new life was visible and the Muslims were concentrating on the various projects by which they could

make their condition better. Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawab Ali Chaudhri concentrated their energies in this direction. In short, this measure of the Government though based on administrative policy was a great relief for the Muslims.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his history of the Congress remarks that "The partition of Bengal divided the Bengali-speaking people into two provinces against wishes." The statement is far from truth as he utterly ignored the amount of literature and speeches and the propaganda carried on by the Muslims in favour of the partition and the resentment which the Muslims expressed in 1911, when the partition was annulled. He admits that "the cause of Bengal was made India's cause." There is no doubt that the Hindu domination was seriously affected and as such, they considered the partition a national calamity. Nationalist leaders like Gokhale and Bepin Chandra Pal had openly allied themselves with this move of the Hindus. It is a pity that in these circumstances the Congress claimed to represent the whole of the Indian nation. The formation of the Muslim League after these events was an imperative necessity, the formation of which could not long be avoided.

CHAPTER IV

SIMLA DEPUTATION AND THE FORMATION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

The programme of work, as outlined by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, was tremendous, but the Musalmans, who had so far kept aloof from politics, could not keep pace with the events and the Association was still in an incomplete state when momentous events occurred both in India and in England. A disintegrated party became united and overthrew one of the most powerful governments in English politics with a suddenness and completeness of triumph of which it would be difficult to find a parallel; and nearer at home administrative measures of the Government of India were opposed by the Bengali-speaking Hindu population of Bengal with a fervour unique in the history of country. A generous recognition of the Indian claim, by one of the most progressive Secretaries of State in the Liberal Government was mistaken by the agitators for weakness and the resignation of the provincial satrap was construed into a triumph of agitation. The Musalmans were galvanised by these great events, and the leading men, amongst them, realised that the times called

for great activity for self-preservation of the community. The result of these cogitations was the famous Deputation to Lord Minto, which went to Simla on 1st October, 1906. The Deputation succeeded in securing separate electorate for the Musalmans, a measure fraught with grave consequences and which requires a detailed examination.

In introducing the Indian Budget in the House of Commons Mr. Morley said:

> The very limited amount of time given to the discussions of the Budget in Calcutta has hitherto been a scandal. Then there is also the question of the moving of amendments to the proposals of the Viceroy and his advisers. Then there is the extension of the representative element in the Legislative Council—not the Executive Council, but the Legislative. There are three points bearing closely upon our discussion today, and I am glad to say that the Governor-General is about to appoint a small committee from his Executive Council to consider what reforms in this direction can be expediently carried forward. I have every reason to believe that I shall before the end of the session have a despatch from the Government of India empowering me to state to this House the definite results at which the Governor-General and his committee have arrived.

On seeing this pronouncement, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk who was then in Bombay immediately decided to put forth Muslim claims and concentrated his entire energies on the formation of a deputation, representative in character, to place the Muslim demands before the Viceroy. He at once entered into long correspondence with Mr. Archbold, the principal of the M. A. O. College who was

in Simla asking him to seek permission of His Excellency for the presentation of such an address through his Private Secretary, Mr. Dunlop Smith, who was a great friend of Mr. Archbold. Nawab Saheb knew his community and had made a correct estimate of their feelings. He was convinced that for the future well-being of his nation it was vital to demand separate representation for the Muslims. In anticipation of the final reply, Nawab Saheb started preparation for the formation of the Deputation. Meanwhile he received a letter from Haji-Mohammad Ismail Khan Saheb and Shahizada Aftab Ahmad Khan expressing the same views. The whole of Muslim India was throbbing with new spirit. Different representations were made to Nawab Saheb urging him to avail of this opportunity of representing the Muslim point of view. Every one seemed to be convinced that to remain silent on this issue would be detrimental to Muslim interests. They also knew that in case immediate steps were not taken, the Muslims, on account of the growing fear of the majority, would ultimately join the Congress, which would, in the end prove fatal to their existence. Sirdar Mohammad Yaqub Khan, minister of Jaora State, wrote a very strongly worded note and considered the Muslim's indifference on this issue suicidal.

Similar letters were written by Moulvi Mohd. Yaqub (now Sir Mohd. Yaqub) and all of them pointed out that as the extension of the Legislative Council was under the serious consideration of the Government, they feared lest the Congress, which

had already acquired a considerable influence with the parliamentary circles in England, might once again outmanoeuvre the Muslims and force them to accept its claims of representing the whole of India. Taking into confidence the leading Muslims, the Nawab Saheb opined that an address formulating the Muslim grievances and demands should be prepared and that a deputation should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy. The scheme was unanimously welcomed and the task was entrusted to a committee which met at Aligarh. He was asked by the members to undertake and complete this self-imposed mission. Blank papers were sent to different organisations and to the Musalmans for signatures and they signed those papers without hesitation. Within a short period 1,461,183 signatures were obtained and submitted to the Viceroy's Private Secretary. Mr. Archbold who was in constant touch with the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, wrote a letter to the Nawab Saheb giving a few suggestions to be incorporated in the address.

The Mohammadans had hitherto stood aloof from the one great body in India namely the Congress because they had no faith in it and did not approve of the methods of that body. But as the rulers of this country had in keeping with their traditions and their interpretation of the political situation found it expedient to give to representative institutions an increasing importance in the government of the country, the Muslims could not for any length of time tolerate any injustice to their

own national interests by keeping themselves aloof from actively participating in the politics of their country. The Deputation also met the various members of the Viceroy's Council and impressed upon them the importance of separate electorates. H. H. the Aga Khan now took up the matter in all earnestness and wrote the following letter to Nawab Saheb:

My dear Nawab Saheb,

Perhaps I may be allowed as one who took part in the recent Deputation to H. E. Viceroy to make a few suggestions as to the future. The whole of the Mohamedan community have taken the keenest interest in the movement and they look to us to try our best to secure that the objects which were set forth in the address may be ultimately secured.

It may be well that the provincial associations should be formed with the aim of safeguarding the political interests of Mohamedans in the various portions of India, and similarly some central organisation for the whole. On these matters I do not wish to pronounce an opinion. They are best left, I think, to the discretion of the leaders in the days that are to come.

But as the Deputation was formed with a view to the securing of certain definite objects of the most vital interest to Mohamedans as a whole, I venture to regard its work as begun only, and it seems to me from every point of view important that it should *without delay* continue its labours until complete success has crowned its efforts. To this end I would suggest that the Deputation which presented the address resolve itself into a committee to endeavour to obtain the granting of the various prayers which the address embodied. This Mohamedan Committee for the completion of the work of the Deputation might, if it were thought necessary,

add to its numbers, though I would suggest, in the interest of the rapid carrying out of its business, that this should be done sparingly. I am sure also that I express what is the wish of all my fellow-Mohamedans when I ask you to continue to act as secretary of this committee.

Please circulate my letter among the members of the Deputation.

I am, my dear Nawab Saheb
Sincerely yours
4th, October, 1906 Aga Khan

P. S.—I further suggest that if any of the members of the committee be absent or unable to give proper attention the other members should act without consulting him. However, this should not mean his resignation but only his inability to be of service for the time being. Such an absent or indisposed member unless directly asked to resign or himself resigns will continue to be a permanent member of the Committee.

Aga Khan

The task of preparing the address was entrusted to Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk and Syed Hasan Bilgrami. It took a long time to decide the points and to prepare the address and so much secrecy was maintained that in spite of the best efforts of the Hindus, no copy of it was available before its presentation. The second difficulty was the pressing of the demand regarding the partition of Bengal. Nawab-Samiullah Khan and Mr. Nawab Ali Choudhri were insisting that this point should be definitely incorporated and threatened that in case the request was not acceded to, Bengal would non-

co-operate the Deputation. On the other hand the late Mian Mohd. Shafi and Justice Shahdin were pressing that no controversial matter be included and any departure from this policy would mean the cessation of the Punjab, while Nawab Saheb was of the opinion that instead of launching any bitter attack on the activities of the sister community, they should present our own demands and confine themselves to the grievances. A meeting was convened at Lucknow to approve of the draft of the address. The controversy over the question of the partition of Bengal was amicably settled. The next difficulty was about the selection of the members forming the deputation and its leaders. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk asked the members to leave the matter to him, which was finally agreed upon. H. H. the Aga Khan was selected to lead the deputation. His absence from the country was another impediment, but happily the news was received that he was on his way to China, and was to land at Colombo. On the confirmation of this news, Nawab Saheb sent a very lengthy cablegram to H. H. the Aga Khan asking him to come to India and assume the role of leadership assigned to him. His Highness readily agreed and arrived at Simla just on the eve of the presentation of the address. It was at his suggestion that the demand for the establishment of the Muslim University was finally incorporated, in spite of the fact, that the address to be presented had already been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk further tried that the mem-

bers of the deputation should individually meet the Viceroy. But His Excellency had no time at his disposal and the members could not avail of the opportunity. It is significant that nowhere did Nawab Saheb mention that he had taken the chief initiative in the matter or was the secretary of the Deputation. When Colonel Dunlop-Smith wanted to arrange an interview for Nawab Saheb, he refused on the plea that the feelings of the rest of the members would be injured, and it was at his suggestion that a party at the Viceregal Lodge was arranged wherein the members met the Viceroy individually and in a short time fully expressed their personal views. The address presented on this occasion is a memorable one, for the demand for separate electorate was put forth which was conceded after much wrangling and is still a bone of contention between the two nations and to which Muslims even today attach the greatest importance.

The Deputation itself was the most influential and representative body of Mohammadans which had ever approached the Government of India. That thirty-six members represented every province and every class of the educated Muslim community established that the Muslims were unanimous in securing the representation of Muslims and their rights and privileges and above all, the recognition of their claims as a separate nation. The editorial comments of the various papers in England showed that though the general opinion of the public in England was one of ignorance of the conditions

under which Muslims were labouring, was not devoid of sympathy for the Muslims.

After this exchange of views Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk decided to convene a meeting of the leading Musalmans of India and the other representative organizations at Dacca where a large concourse of the leading Mohammadans was expected to meet and deliberate on educational problems in the All India Educational Conference. Taking advantage of this, the Hon'ble Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca circulated a tentative scheme for the formation of a confederacy and invited the opinion of a large number of leaders amongst the Mohammadans.

In response to the circular letter of Nawab of Dacca a large number of letters were received from men of note among the Musalmans.

Some expressing general sympathy with the movement, others offering detailed opinions on the many points raised in the scheme, and some others leaving the settlement of the details till after discussion at Dacca on Dec. 30. Several hundred gentlemen assembled at Dacca to take part in the discussion, where thousands had come from the province of Eastern Bengal itself. This is the brief history of the political movement which culminated in the formation of the All India Muslim League on 30th December, 1906. The proceedings of the first meeting presided by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk are full of interest.

The first resolution moved by the Nawab of Dacca runs as follows:

> Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decide that a Political Association be formed, styled All India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:—
>
> (*a*) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of the measures.
>
> (*b*) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.
>
> (*c*) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sh. Abdullah and Maulana Mohammad Ali supported the resolution.

Thus the foundation of the All-India Muslim League was laid which today claims to represent the Musalmans of the country, and which claim no serious thinking Musalman can deny nor any other person of whatever persuasion challenge with justice and equanimity.

CHAPTER V

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM 1907 ONWARD

Thirty-four years have rolled by since the All India Muslim League was founded at Dacca. During this long period it has covered several stages in the course of India's national evolution. Whatever differences may have arisen in its councils in later years, its programme of early years was almost unanimously approved of by all shades of public opinion in India. The one point on which every one seemed to have agreed was the importance of the introduction of separate electorates as an essential principle in any constitutional advancement of the country. The discussions which took place before the Government of India accepted this principle, clearly show that the Muslims as a body were determined to assert themselves as a separate nation in this country and were not prepared to play the second fiddle. The events of the closing years of the last century and the beginning of the present strengthened the conviction that the Musalmans failed to win over the good-will of their Hindu brethren. Mr. Tilak's propaganda was largely responsible for the antagonism between the two major communities of India which exists today. Posterity cannot regard him as a nation

builder. His onslaught in Poona upon Ranade, his alliance with the bigots of orthodoxy, his appeals to popular superstition in the new Ganpati celebrations, to racial fanaticism in the "Anti-Cow-Killing Movement," his gymnastic societies, his preaching in favour of physical training, and last but not least his control of the press and the note of personal violence which he imparted to newspapers, from the progressive stages of a highly organised campaign which has served as a model to the apostles of anti-Muslim feeling all over India. By denouncing every Hindu who supported the introduction of the Age of Consent bill which was intended to mitigate the evils of Hindu Child Marriage, and by his literary excursions into the field of Vedantism with the brothers Natu, he won the support of conservative orthodoxy. He carried his propaganda into the schools and colleges in the teeth of the Moderate party, and, proclaimed that unless they learnt to employ force, the Hindus must expect to be impotent witnesses of the gradual down-fall of all their ancient institutions. With this view, he proceeded to organise gymnastic societies in which physical training and the use of more or less primitive weapons were taught, in order to develop the martial instincts of the rising generation. Sir Valentine Chirol sums up the position thus:

> If amongst many Brahmans of Maharashtra hatred of the British is the dominant passion, amongst the Mahratta population at large, whatever there is of racial and religious jealousy, is mainly directed against

> the Mohammadans......In 1893, some riots in Bombay of a more severe character than usual gave Tilak an opportunity of broadening the new movement by enlisting in its support the old Anti-Mohammadan feeling of the people. He not only convoked popular meetings in which his fiery eloquence denounced the Mohammadans as the sworn foes of Hinduism but he started an organisation known as the "Anti-Cow killing Society," which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mohammadans, who, like ourselves, think it no sacrilege to eat beef. In vain did liberal Hindus appeal to him to desist from these inflammatory methods. Their appeals had no effect upon him, and merely served his purpose by undermining the little authority they still possessed. Government had forbidden Hindu processions to play music whilst passing in front of Mohammadan mosques, as this was a fertile cause of riotous affrays.

Tilak not only himself protested against this "interference with the liberties of the people," but insisted that the Sarvajanik Sabha should identify itself with the "national" cause and memorialize Government for the removal of a prohibition so offensive to Hindu sentiment. The Moderates hesitated, but were overawed by popular clamour and the threats of the Tilak press. Tilak could not have devised a more popular move than when he set himself to organise annual festivals in honour of Ganesh, known as Ganapati celebrations, and to found in all the chief centres of the Deccan Ganapati societies, each with its "mela" or choir recruited among his youthful bands of gymnasts. These festivals gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu

mythology were skilfully exploited to stir up hatred of the "foreigner" and mlechha, the term employed for "foreigner" applied equally to Europeans and to Mohammadans as well as for tumultuous processions only too well calculated to provoke affrays with the Mohammadans and with the police, which in turn led to judicial proceedings, that served as a fresh excuse for noisy protests and inflammatory pleadings. With the Ganapati celebrations the area of Tilak's propaganda was widely increased. But the movement had yet to be given a form which should directly appeal to fighting instincts of the Mahrattas and stimulate active disaffection by reviving memories of olden times when under Shivaji's leadership they had rolled back the tide of Musalman conquest and created a Mahratta Empire of their own. The legends of Shivaji's prowess still lingered in Maharashtra, where the battlemented strongholds which he built crown many a precipitous crag of the Deccan highlands. In a valley below Partabgarh the spot is still shown where Shivaji induced the Mohammadan general, Afzal Khan, to meet him in peaceful conference half-way between the contending armies, and, as he bent down to greet his guest, he plunged into his bowels the famous "tiger's claw," a hooked gauntlet of steel, while the Mahratta forces sprang out of ambush and cut the Mohammadan army to pieces. But if Shivaji's memory still lived, it belonged to a past which was practically dead and gone. Tilak, however, brought Shivaji to the forefront and set in motion a great

"national" propaganda which culminated in 1895, in the celebration at all the chief centres of Brahman activity in the Deccan of Shivaji's reputed birthday, the principal commemoration being held under Tilak's own presidency at Raighar, where the Mahratta chieftain had himself been crowned. What was the purpose and significance of this movement may be gathered from a Sloka or sacred poem improvised on this occasion by one of Tilak's disciples who was soon to acquire sinister notoriety. Not actuated by another desire except to injure the Muslim sentiments, Tilak in a speech justified the murder of Afzal Khán, exonerating the murder on the plea that his act was above reproach and "such persons are above the common principle of morality." "It was in a praiseworthy object that he murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others," recounted Tilak, and further remarked:

> If thieves enter our house and we have not strength to drive them out, should we not without hesitation shut them in and burn them alive? God has conferred on the *mlechhas* no grant of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass. Shivaji strove to drive them forth out of the land of his birth, but he was guiltless of the sin of covetousness. Do not circumscribe your vision like frogs in a well. Rise above the Penal Code into the rarefied atmosphere of the sacred *Bhagavad Gita* and consider the action of the great man.

In the reflected blaze of this apotheosis of Shivaji, Tilak stood forth as the appointed leader of the "nation." He was the triumphant champion

of Hindu orthodoxy, the High priest of Ganesh, the inspired prophet of a new "nationalism," which in the name of Shivaji would cast out the hated mlechhas and restore glories of Mahratta history. Tilak's influence was rapidly extending far beyond Poona and Deccan. He had associated himself with the Indian National Congress and he was secretary of the standing committee for the Deccan. His Congress work had brought him into contact with the politicians of other provinces, and upon none did his teachings and his example produce so deep an impression as upon the emotional Bengalees. He had not the gift of sonorous eloquence which they possess, and he never figured conspicuously as an orator at the annual session of the Congress. But his calculating resourcefulness and his indomitable energy, even his masterfulness, impressed them all the more, and in the two memorable sessions held at Benares in 1905, and in Calcutta in 1906, when the agitation over the partition of Bengal was at its height, his was the dominant personality, not at the tribune, but in the lobbies. He had been one of the first champions of Swadeshi as an economic weapon in the struggle against British rule and he saw in the adoption of the boycott, with all the lawlessness which it involved, an unprecedented opportunity of stimulating the active forces of disaffection. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, who subsequently fell out with Tilak, had at first modelled his propaganda very largely upon that of the Deccan leader. Not only did he try to introduce into Bengal the singularly inappropriate cult

of Shivaji, but he was clearly inspired by Tilak's methods in placing the Swadeshi boycott in Bengal under the special patronage of so popular a deity as the "terrible Goddess" Kali. Tilak was for a considerable time an orbit round whom many prominent figures moved and the Congress drew its inspiration. That Tilak was intensely nationalistic in his views but he recognised the limitation of the age, is the tribute paid to him by Dr. Pattabhi. How far Tilak can be considered a patriarch in the light of the facts enumerated is left to the judgment of an impartial mind.

After a dispassionate study of all the activities of Mr. Tilak one really feels constrained to appreciate the contention that "Tilak's supreme consideration was the nation and its up-building." From the Deccan as we have already seen in his relations with the Indian National Congress, his influence was projected far and wide. His prestige as a Brahman of the Brahmans and a pillar of orthodoxy in spite of the latitude of the views which he sometimes expressed in regard to the depressed caste had increased with the people. His appeal to the Hindus was two-fold. He taught them on the one hand that India and especially Maharashtra, the land of the Mahrattas had been happier and better and more prosperous under Hindu Raj than it had ever been or could ever be under the rule of the alien "demons." On the other hand, he held out to them the prospect that, if power were once restored to the Brahmans who had already learnt all that there was of good to be learnt from

the English, the Golden Age would return for gods and men. That Tilak himself hardly believed in the possibility of overthrowing British rule is more than probable, though one of his organs blurted it out. "If the British yield all power to us and retained only nominal control, we may yet be friends." All the lawless activities, even murders were supported by Mr. Tilak for his cult was that of Shivaji Maharaj, and in the light he viewed his conduct as being above reproach.

For some time past the influence of Tilak and his irreconcilable school had been projected from the Deccan into Bengal and nowhere did it make itself so rapidly felt as in the press. "Aryavarta for the Aryans" was the war-cry of these zealots, half-fanatics, half-patriots, whose mysticism found in the sacred story of the *Bhagavat Gita*—not only the character of India's independence but the justification of the most violent means to harass the government. The net result of all this was that the orthodoxy recovered ground, and Brahmanism was not slow to show how potent it still is even in Bengal when it appealed to the superstitions of the masses. In one form or another a new spirit had spread like wild fire among the students and other classes of people. The Congress identified itself with the partition agitation started in Bengal.

The partition was done with a view to promote administrative efficiency. After a careful examination of the merits and demerits of the scheme lasting for over two years, the partition was carried out. The Eastern districts which were

included in the new province and which had been hitherto lamentably neglected enormously gained by the change. It was also an act of justice to the large Mohammadan majority who received but scanty consideration from Calcutta. The partition was a signal for an agitation by the Hindus who were hit hard and whose domination received a setback. What all the smouldering discontent, all the reactionary disaffection centred in Calcutta read into the Partition was a direct attack upon the primacy of the educated classes that had made Calcutta the capital of the Bengalee "nation." Monster demonstrations were organised and wildest reports were sedulously disseminated amongst the rural population. People were told that Partition was an insult to the "terrible goddess," Kali. The cry of Swadeshi was coupled with that of *Bande Mataram* and all this was being done by the support of the Congress. The cry of Boycott was raised and a closer co-operation and contact between the forces of unrest in Deccan and Bengal was evident. The movement was placed under the special patronage of Kali and vows were administered to the large crowds in the foure-courts of her great temple at Calcutta and in her various shrines all over Bengal. The religious character with which the leaders sought to invest the boycott propaganda showed how far removed was the Swadeshi Movement which the leaders of the agitation preached from a mere innocent economic propaganda for the furtherance of native industries in the promotion and progress of which was hidden India's economic salvation.

The Hindu leaders made desperate attempts to enlist the support of the Mohammadans, and Mr. Gokhale tried to delude the public mind by his remarks in his presidential address to the Congress in 1905, to the effect that the Mohammadans were with them, but Mohammadans as a whole knew the meaning of partition and of the agitation against it. In the Deccan the cult of Shivaji as the epic hero of Mahratta history was intelligible enough but in Bengal his name had been a bogey. To identify the cause of nationalism with the cult of the Mahratta warrior-king, was not the way to win over the Mohammadan support in Eastern Bengal. The Muslims as a community had everything to gain and nothing to loose by the Partition. Lawlessness and sedition accompanied by murderous assaults were openly preached and those resorting to them were hailed as martyrs. The attitude of the Hindus towards the Mohammadans of the Eastern Bengal after the Partition had shown how they resented the position that the creation of the new province gave to Muslim element. The whole tendency of the Hindu social, religious and political revivalism during the last thirty years had been consistently Anti-Mohammadan. Some of the more liberal and moderate Hindu leaders no doubt honestly believed and even tried to secure for the evolution of a real Indian nation, representative both of the Mohammadans and the Hindus, and they tried their level best to devise a formula in which the racial and religious differences may be sunk but they were the leaders whose following

was waning. The Muslims were sorely disappointed and had given up all hopes of even a temporary alliance. They had seen the constant exhortations of the Hindu Nationalist Press that the youth of India must prepare for the coming Kali incarnation of Vishnu when the *mlechha* that is, the Muslim would be driven out of India. The attitude of the Hindus towards the Mohammadans of the Eastern Bengal is particularly worth mentioning, when after the partition they had shown by their behaviour that they resented the position which the creation of the new province gave to the Muslim element. In every Government office, in every profession, the Hindus were binding themselves closer and closer together against their Mohammadan colleagues. The fault of the Mohammadans was that they had refused to join in the boycott of the British goods. The Hindus adopted a policy of isolation and decided not to deal with Mohammadan shops and not to trade with Mohammadan merchants. Muslims felt that while the Government in India was British in spirit as well as in name, there were indications that in the future it might gradually become Hindu in fact, though the British form might remain.

The Mussalmans were on the horns of a dilemma. They neither trusted the Hindus nor the British. The British people had reduced them to an abject position and as Sir Valentine Chirol discussing Muslim point of view mentions that, "as a matter of fact, British rule has in many ways worked out to the relative detriment of Mohammadan influence

and to the greater advantage of the Hindus." They had seen that they were being driven out from every position of trust and responsibility. In Bengal alone where the Muslims were in majority, the Hindus held larger number of appointments under Government as against the 141 held by the Mohammadans. In the Central Provinces, 339 as against 75. In Bombay the Hindus held 266 as against 23 held by Mohammadans.

The Muslims could hardly be reconciled to the position. The announcement of the partition was welcomed by the Muslims but to the Hindus it came as a bomb-shell. There cannot be a greater colossal perversion of facts, a greater misrepresentation of the situation than Surendranath Banerjee's statement when discussing the partition and the causes of its opposition he expressed the opinion that, the Mussalmans were a party to the agitation which the Hindus of Bengal had started against this administrative measure. The underlying idea of all Hindu activities was to coerce the government to such an extent that the measure be annulled. The Swadeshi movement was started with the same object in view. The plea that it was started with a view to help the indigenous industries or to solve the question is contradicted by the very wording of the resolution adopted in the Town Hall which says that "the purchase of British manufactures is to be abstained as long as a partition agitation is not withdrawn."

Bande-Matram

The song of *Bande-Matram* was adopted as a national song by these agitators who claimed to clamour for the union between the Hindus and Muslims. In our recent times, much controversy raged round this Anti-Muslim song; yet the Congress is not prepared to take note of Muslim's opposition. Sir Verney Lovett in his history of the Indian Nationalist Movement says:

> Another device to which they (Bengalee Hindus) resorted was borrowed from Europe. Years before a Bengali named Benkim Chandra had written a novel based on incursions by some bands of Sanyasi fanatical Hindu banditti, who in the year 1772, after a severe famine, had decended on Bengal, their ranks swollen by a crowd of starving peasants, and had obtained temporary successes against some Government levies under British officers. The novel contained a song which was adopted as a Marseillaise by the anti-Partitionists, and has since become famous as "Bunde-Matram."—Hail, Mother-land......From the context in the novel it seems that the Sanyasi's appeal was rather to his mother's land, the land of Mother Kali, than to his mother land.

> "Bunde-Matram," and other effusions of a more militant character were eagerly taken up by the masses of Hindu youths who thronged the numerous schools and colleges in Bengal under needy discontented teachers. Indeed it was to enlist these facile recruits that the Calcutta leaders addressed their main efforts.

One fails to understand even at this late hour how a partition based on purely administrative reasons could be considered to have marred the

national growth. The Nationalism which was put forward was unabashed Hindu nationalism. The Swadeshi movement was started for the Hindus, who did not like the Partition. The very fact that the day the partition was effected was observed as a day of National mourning and the ceremonies which attended its observance show that the movement was strictly confined to the Hindus only. Mr. Banerjee describes them in his book thus:

> The programme of mourning was fixed in consultation with the mofussil leaders, and was widely circulated. There was to be (1) The Rakhi Bandhan ceremony—the red band of brotherly union was to be tied round the wrists of all whom we welcomed as brothers. It was to be the revival of an ancient Indian custom, and was to be emblematic of the new brotherly bond between the sundered province and old Bengal. (2) The 16th of October was to be observed as a day of fasting. The domestic hearth was not to be lit; food was not to be cooked except for the sick and the invalid; the shops were to be closed, business was to be suspended; people were to walk bare-footed, and bathe in the Ganges in the early morning hours for purposes of purification. It was a self-denying ordinance, but it was cheerfully accepted, and, as the sequel showed, the heart and soul of the nation were in it.

By these activities it must be clear to any one that the Hindu feelings were being worked up and this was the signal of a great catastrophe which came too soon in the Eastern Bengal in the form of Hindu-Muslim riots. The Government took a strong attitude and tried to suppress them but the unruly element who was constantly being appealed

and stirred up by catchwords and cheap slogans, lost all sense of proportion and discrimination. The feeling of antagonism between the Hindus and Mohammadans grew stronger from day to day. The whole of Muslim India was deeply affected by these occurrences as they could well read the meaning of these moves. It was, therefore, a natural reaction to this very agitation that when in 1906, Lord Morley announced the formation of a committee of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council with a view to discuss further reform scheme, the Muslims considered it necessary to put their claims for their recognition as a separate nation, with their separate culture and separate interests.

The formation of the Muslim League at Dacca was the first step towards that higher goal of unification and of the gradual development of a sense of political realities the growth of which the events in Bengal had accelerated. The progress can best be judged by the events. After the formation of the All India Muslim League at Dacca, Mussalmans as a body pooled up their entire energies in strengthening their organisation far and wide. In 1905, the Congress had adopted self-government as its goal but the adoption of the resolution was a sort of compromise arrived at between the moderate and advanced sections of the Congress. The desire on both sides to find a common denominator in a nebulous formula which each could interpret according to the time, and its own desires resulted in its adopting the self-government resolution.

The word 'Swaraj' or self-rule seems to have been discovered as a means of presenting the political aspirations of Indian nationalism in the form least likely to alarm Englishmen, "specially those who do not care or wish to look below the surface and whose sympathies are readily won by any catchword that appeals to the sentimental liberalism." Swaraj or colonial self-government represents the minimum that was to satisfy Indian Nationalists of those days. It was only by pledging to this word of Swaraj that the Indian National Congress could secure a semblance of unity in the various ranks and files of its followers. The Mussalmans were not to be deluded or to be entrapped by these words which did not come out from the depth of their heart and for which the Hindu India was not prepared to suffer. The general public was not yet prepared to pay the sacrifice entailed in achieving the objective. The policy of the Congress from the beginning has been to pitch its demand very high.

The adoption of the resolution had another meaning behind it which Lady Minto mentions in her memoirs:

> Antipathy to the partition was originally grounded in Hindu-Muslims and not Indian-British antagonism but political agitators obscured this issue and unscrupulously used this source of unrest to serve their own ends.

Lord Minto in a letter to the Secretary of State remarked about the conditions prevailing in Bengal thus:

> In Bengal the condition of affairs is disagreeable but the agitation there has to a great extent changed its character and consists of bad feelings between Mohammadans and Hindus which may at any moment bring about serious riots.

The Muslim League in its very first session at Dacca gave a serious warning to the Government that in case the partition was annulled, the Muslims all over India would view it with great alarm. The Partition question became a question of life and death for the Muslims of Eastern Bengal. The Muslims gained their lost position and prestige by the partition measure, and its annulment was sure to take away all those privileges. From all this it must be clear to any impartial observer that the agitation started after the partition of Bengal seriously affected the relations of the Hindus and the Muslims. The Congress by allying itself with the agitators left no alternative for the Muslim League but to take up the Muslim cause. The one was striking at the very root and foundation of the Muslims; the other was trying to put them on a footing of equality. The Muslim League had thus to accept the challenge of the Congress. The work started at Dacca was pushed with great force. At Karachi its constitution was accepted by the representatives who gathered there from all over the country. A London branch with Mr. Saed Amir Ali was subsequently established and the League decided to help it financially. The formation of such an organisation was essential, for the Congress used to send its periodical deputations to England

and the British statesmen had no other means to find out the true feelings and the true state of affairs existing in India except either through the official channel or through contact with such persons who went there in the guise of the representatives of the people. Such exchange of views and discussions greatly helped the Congress. The Mussalmans could not accuse those British statesmen who sympathised with the Congress demands for they did not know the other side of the picture. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had rendered a distinct service to the Muslim nation, for "he it was who engineered the present Mohammadan deputation," wrote Lady Minto. Nobody can dispute that if Simla deputation had not been organised and as a consequence of it the Muslim League had not come into existence the interest of the Muslims would have been always at the mercy of those who would have never cared to represent them. Not many days had passed after the demand of the Muslims for their appointment in the higher services of the Government, that the Honourable Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain and Saed Sharfuddin and Shah Din were appointed judges of the High Court of Allahabad, Calcutta and the Punjab respectively and after a few days Syed Husain Bilgrami was appointed the member of the Secretary of State's Council. The Muslim League then submitted its own views on the Government despatch on the reform scheme. The question of the appointment of an advisory council was much applauded and appreciated. The Muslim League also accepted the

principle of official majority in the Imperial Council for some time to come. As regards the Provincial Councils, the League demanded the allocation of seats to the Muslims in excess of their population as well as the right to elect their own representatives. They further demanded the introduction of the principle of separate electorate in the Municipal and District Boards. At a time when the country was seriously considering the constitutional problems, the Bengali-Hindus were engrossed in most abominable kind of agitation which had definitely taken a shape of anarchism. Bombs were thrown, revolver shots were fired and the peace and tranquillity of the country was disturbed for the simple fact that the Hindu sentiments were injured on account of the justice done to the Muslims. The more the Hindus agitated the more vehement was the Muslim demand for the separate electorate. The events justified their claims and no argument could convince them otherwise.

The Muslim League was founded at a time when Eastern Bengal was passing through one of the severest crises which the Mussalmans had to face since the commencement of the British rule in this country. Nawab Salimullah Khan said, "The sense of a common danger threatening our very existence as a community, and the imminent peril to which our rights and liberties were exposed, made us close up our ranks and take counsel of the veteran leaders of Muslim thought all over India." The League which came into existence at such a critical period was faced with a piquant situation.

On one side was the question of securing a proper place for the Muslims in the coming reforms, on the other was the question of the partition of Bengal. The League made no secret of its views on the partition. Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry, in a spirited speech in the League Session replied to those who wanted its annulment. Questioning the supporters of the Anti-partition movement, he asked:

> But what are the arguments against the Partition? Up to now the stock argument with the anti-partitionists has been the mere sentimental one—that it divides the Bengal Hindu race—could not the Bengalee Musalmans say the same thing? Could not the Musalmans too, cry that the partition has divided the Bengal Musalmans into two different provincial areas? Could not the Punjab Musalmans, in like manner, say that the creation of the Frontier Province divides them into two different political divisions; could not, I ask, the Mohammadans of Upper India similarly complain that the Punjab and the United Provinces break up a no less homogeneous people into two different political and administrative areas?
>
> Could not the Musalmans have raised the standard of revolt when Delhi, Karnal and Gurgaon districts were transferred to the Punjab Province? Could not similarly the Beharis threaten disturbance because they have been included in the Bengal administration? Assam was separated in 1874 from Bengal and made into a separate province in redistribution of 1905, it had to revert to the old order of being mixed up with Bengal. I must say, Gentlemen, that the enunciation of such a doctrine is the enunciation of a dangerous principle in the governance of a country like India.

As a result of Hindu activities the feelings

between the two communities were very much strained. At such a juncture Mr. Gokhale took upon himself the self-denying ordinance to create once again a harmonious and cordial atmosphere between the Muslims and the Hindus. His efforts in this direction, therefore, need careful consideration. Mr. Gokhale found a ready response from the Muslim leaders. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk invited him to Aligarh and in his address to the Aligarh students he appealed to the Mussalmans at large to come to terms with the Hindus. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk on behalf of the Muslims soon after in an address to the students of Aligarh explained the reasons for adopting the particular policy by the Muslims and clarified the whole position. He said:

> To my mind it appears that Congress has already chalked out in its future programme, those ordeals which it has to perform, and it is slowly proceeding point by point on the lines of that programme, constructing its huge edifice on the patterns and designs which its so-called great architects have mapped out. They want to consolidate their political strength day by day, achieve representative government by virtue of their organised agitations. They have established this order from the lowest Municipal Board to Viceroy's Council and in this way they want to have a representative government, where the voice of the country be represented by the majority, members may be elected on majority basis, the legislation of the country may be in their hands, in fact the entire administration may be gradually transferred to the people in majority of this country. And then the pioneers of this great movement very meekly tell

a Mussalman that all his scheme is towards the advancement and betterment of the country, that the good and welfare of the whole country is highest ideology and aspiration and that they have not started the movement in the interest of any particular community, they have not raised their voice for supporting the cause of any special group. Why then should not the Mussalmans appreciate their sincerity and spirit of mutual regard and join their voices with ours for a noble cause and strengthen our cry? Why should they not support us? But Oh, the Muslim youth of India. It is all a mirage, a policy of destruction for our community. And I should not hesitate an inch in giving full expression to my feelings for the interest and welfare of my dear community, that if we fail to understand this disillusionment and do not remove this magic veil from our eyes, that if we willingly take part in this movement and act on this sugar-coated advice, our entire community will be involved in such a mesh of circumstances, that huge dangers in the shape of hanging rocks will lean on our heads in future ready to fall and crush our entire national existence. Our culture and civilisation shall go to dust, our objectives shall be lost in the air. Similarly if we have self-government in this country, where the representatives of people are elected on majority basis, and the Muslim interests are left unsafeguarded in the legislation of the country because the representatives of the people in majority will make the laws of the country, the result will be that the entire good and benefit of the election system of government will be monopolised by the majority party, and the minorities will heavily suffer. It will be the domination of majority over the minority, one the ruler, the other ruled, and the effect of this majority domination will have its repurcussion on all the departments of the life.

Lord Salisbury had expressed the same ideas when he opposed Lord Cross's Indian Council

Bill wherein he remarked: "The principle of election of Government by representation was not an Eastern idea and that it did not fit in Eastern tradition or Eastern mind."

The Muslim League after careful and serious deliberations made it a matter of life and death for the Mussalmans to acquire a separate electorate for the Muslims and all their efforts were directed towards it. For the Home Government it was difficult to understand such a type of representation. There were long and anxious exchange of views between the Indian Government and the Home Government. For an Englishman it was difficult to visualize that India is a land of different nationalities. On the other hand, the Congress was much perturbed over this demand of the Muslims. All their efforts to trap in the Muslims in their fold had proved abortive, and in spite of the exhortations of the late Mr. Badruddin-Tayyabji and Mr. Rahmat Ullah Sayani, the Muslims kept themselves aloof from the Congress deliberations.

The "Nationalism in danger" raised from the Congress platform had no charm for the Mussalmans. The Muslims realised that no demand which is not backed up by the public opinion, could have any chance of success. Therefore, they had departed from the traditional policy of remaining aloof from any kind of political agitation. The educated class was now well prepared to steer the ship of Muslim fate. The whole country was in the grip of constitutional fight. The curtain was lifted and the reform scheme as thrashed out after a careful

and anxious exchange of views between Simla and White Hall was made public. The Muslim League which had gathered sufficient strength examined these proposals at its Session at Amritsar in 1908.

Mr. Ali Imam, the president of the League, in recounting the whole circumstances under which the Muslims were forced to put the demand for separate electorate, made a whole survey of the situation and his own reflections on the strained relation between the two communities are well worthy of consideration.

The London branch of the Muslim League then took up all the important matters in its hand and submitted many representations to the British Government. Just after the session in India the All India Muslim League Branch presented an address to Lord Morley, in which the demand for the separate electorate was reiterated and emphasised.

Just after this, unfortunately a rift was created owing to somewhat changed circumstances. Mr. Syed Ali Imam after meeting with Mr. Gokhale has published a long statement in which he expressed views which were somewhat at variance with those formerly expressed at the Amritsar Session. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk took it as a challenging attitude of Mr. Ali Imam. It was fortunate that the controversy ended with that.

As a result of all this agitation, representation and expression of views the Muslim demands were conceded and in the famous Despatch of the 1st.

October 1908 to the Secretary of State, the Government of India expressed their opinion about the separate representation of the Mohammadans.

The net result of all these deliberations was that the separate electorates under the new reforms was conceded to the Mussalmans. The Under-Secretary on behalf of the British Government announced in the House of Commons that,

> Undoubtedly there will be a separate register for Muslims. To us here at first sight it looks an objectionable thing because it discriminates between people and self-segregates them in classes based on religions but it cuts deep down into tradition of Historic past and is also differentiated by the habit and social customs of the communities.

Thus the efforts of the All India Muslim League met with great success and the right to elect their own representatives was first given to the Mussalmans through the efforts of the All India Muslim League.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANTI-PARTITION MOVEMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Muslim League was gaining strength every day. It had captured the imagination of the Muslim middle classes. Its sessions and deliberations were largely attended. Everywhere in Muslim India there was unprecedented enthusiasm. The Indian National Congress was much perturbed over the success of the League. The Mussalmans had kept themselves aloof from the Congress after the inception of the League, and a few that enrolled themselves could never give to the Congress the representative character which it claimed. In the twenty-first Congress session held at Benares in December 1905, the total number of delegates was 756 out of which 718 were Hindus, 17 were Mohammadans and 14 were Sikhs. The Congress had allied itself with the Anti-Partition movement, encouraged the boycott and stood for the annulment of the partition. The leaders of the Congress and other politicians who aspired to a far larger share in the Government demanded that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British colonies be extended to India. Mr. Dadabhai Naroji, in his presidential address, tried to

appease the Mussalmans by saying, "Once Self-Government is attained there will be prosperity for all, but not till then." But in the same breath, ignoring the Muslim feelings, he justified the agitation of the Bengalees for the annulment of the partition and said:

> ......Agitate; agitate over the whole length and breadth of India in every nook and corner—peacefully of course, if we really mean to get justice from John Bull. Satisfy him that we are earnest. Bengalees, I am glad, have learnt the lesson and lead the march.

Mr. Naroji, however, ignored the important fact that agitation in a homogeneous country like England, does not mean the exhortation of colour feeling, racial prejudice, jealousy and hatred. In India no agitation can be successful unless it has been interlinked. There were certainly some serious-minded Hindu leaders who were of the opinion that the agitation had gone too far. Racial hatred produced its natural results and influenced the minds of the members of the rising generation. To counteract the effect of all this, Mr. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society, which among other things, endeavoured, "To train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means, the true interest of the Indian people."

Every one knew that if the Congress and the Muslim League came to terms, the normal condition of the country would be restored, but the Congress was not prepared to relax and to aim at the

representation of the whole of India. In fact, the Congress could never be called National in the Western democratic sense of the term, for whatever exception it may have been willing to make in favour of individuals, there can be no question of popular representation in India, so long as the Hindu caste system prevails, under which the whole classes numbering millions and millions are regarded as "Untouchable."

One of the main purposes of the Indian National Congress has been to demand representative Government, a demand which led Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to ask his co-religionists to keep themselves aloof from the Congress. But the whole history of the Congress from its beginning to the present day presents a pathetic picture of how the Congress wants to put this demand into effect and means it seriously for it has itself seldom escaped the control of a handful of masterful leaders who have ruled it and still dominate in the most irresponsible and despotic fashion and as Sir Valentine Chirol puts it:

> The Congress has, in fact, displayed exactly the same feature which has been so markedly manifested in the case of municipalities, namely, the tendency of "representative" institutions in India to resolve themselves into machines operated by, and for the benefit of an extremely limited and domineering oligarchy.

Throughout the controversy to which the Reforms proposal gave rise, the Mussalman attitude was singularly sober and moderate, not actuated by any ill-will or antagonism towards any other

community. The Mussalmans were animated with the single desire of safeguarding their rights and interests in such a form as would give them a just position in the political institutions of the country. Neither their claims nor their action in urging them implied either any encouragement or disregard of the rights of anybody. The Muslims owe a debt of gratitude to the League and its branches and to the cognate organisation for having in the first place grasped the situation that had suddenly risen in India and in the second place for having consistently followed the right policy in dealing with it. To understand the difficulty with which the Mussalmans were confronted, one has only to realize the disintegrated condition of Mussalmans, their lack of political understanding and above all the absence of any political platform. Individualism—the curse of the Mussalman community, was encouraged.

The Muslim League met at Delhi with the Prince of Arcot as the President of the session and His Highness Agha Khan as the permanent President of the League. Hakeem Ajmal Khan the Chairman of the Reception Committee, felt sorry for shifting the blame on the Muslim shoulders for the antagonism existing between the two communities. Ever since the formation of the All-India Muslim League the Hindus as a community denounced the League, and according to Hakim Saheb, "this was the signal for volleys of attacks from the Congress camp on the Mohammadans and their national policy."

He further said:

> Those, however, who take exception to the existence of bodies established for safeguarding communal interests forget that in advancing the cause of one section of the population you advance, indirectly, the cause of the whole, and that a net-work of Hindu Associations and Sabhas is already striving for the promotion of sectional interests. So long as such sectional institutions, whether of the Hindus or of the Mohammadans, do not jeopardise, the larger interests of the country or the community, we should welcome them instead of criticising their activities. The fact is all the same evident that the differences which I have enumerated above, and a few other minor points of divergence, have gone far to create a feeling of estrangement between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. It is to be confessed with regret that party papers have materially contributed towards keeping alive these differences, the Arya-Samajic periodicals being unquestionably among the greatest offenders in this respect.

The demand for the introduction of separate electorate in the local and municipal-boards was reiterated as it was considered to be vital. Regarding the criticism of certain Hindu leaders about the representation of the Mussalmans in the Imperial Council, Hakeem Saheb said:

> If, however, our Hindu fellow countrymen resent this, they ought not, in all fairness to the Mussalmans, blame the latter for the present results, which could be easily avoided by introducing complete separate communal representation on all representative bodies from top to bottom, as primarily asked for by the Muslims.

In spite of the general opposition of the Hin-

dus to separate electorates, there were some well-intentioned Hindus who lent their support to it. The Hon. Mr. Sinha, a staunch Congressman, in his presidential address said:

> I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of the Mussalmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their influence and their position in each province of the country at large.

His Highness the Agha Khan, the President of the League, opined :

> Now that we Mussalmans have striven for and obtained a reasonable recognition of our rights, should we not consider what our aims are, what interest we have in common with our Hindu brethren, and what are the peculiar communal interests which will demand the steady attention of our representatives......Our representatives in the Councils are first there as loyal Indian subjects of the Emperor, and then as the guardians of any special interests of the Muslims. Their function in the Council is of a three-fold character. In the first place, they must co-operate, as representative Indian citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country by working whole-heartedly for the spread of education, for the establishment of free and universal primary education, for the promotion of commerce and industry, for the improvement of agriculture by the establishment of co-operative Credit and distribution Societies and for the development of all the natural resources of the country. Here indeed is a wide field of work for Hindus and Mohammadans acting together, in forwarding practical measures that must tend to the permanent welfare of the country. In the second place, our

> representatives must be ready to co-operate with the Hindus and all other sections of society in securing for them all those advantages that serve their peculiar conditions and help their social welfare, for although the two sister-communities have developed on different lines, each suffers from some peculiar weakness in addition to the misfortunes common to general economic and educational backwardness. And then our representatives must watch and promote social measures exclusively for the benefit of their Muslim co-religionists with the co-operation, we hope, of the Hindu members, for we too have needs that are not known to them and which we alone can fully understand.

After indicating the line of action to be followed His Highness further stressed the necessity of Hindu-Muslim co-operation and said:

> I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohammadans co-operate with each other in the general development of the country as a whole, and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, neither will develop to the full its legitimate aspirations, or give full scope to its possibilities.

The Prince of Arcot, the President of the session, tried to meet the charges of those who characterised the separate electorate as an iron wall between the two communities.

The Congress was getting restless and impatient, and every effort was being made to impress upon the Indian people in India and on British statesmen in England that separate electorate was an innovation and which was sure to hamper India's advance.

The Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali sent a compre-

hensive scheme which tended to divide the work of the League into various sections and which covered the whole field of life of the Mussalmans. The All India Muslim League had nevertheless ignored the educational position of the Mussalmans. H. H. the Agha Khan in his address to the League greatly emphasised the educational demand of the Mussalmans. But the dearth of influential educated leaders of commanding ability, endowed with imagination, and energy had left the Mussalmans behind in the race of life for they had to compete with men over whom the Mussalmans once had their sway and who had now through organised effort and education reversed the order while the Mussalmans were still living in a state of apathy and listlessness. The League was fully conscious of the state of affairs and was trying to infuse a new life into the torpid mass. The announcement of the introduction of new reforms somewhat actuated them with a desire to assert their claim and they felt that they could no longer afford to sulk in their tents. It was expected that after the introduction of separate electorates, the good relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans would be restored. It was felt that barring the question of employment in the public services of the state and the Urdu-Hindi question, there was hardly any question of public importance on which the Mohammadans were not in substantial agreement with their Hindu brethren. On account of this, it was suggested that a conference of Hindu-Muslim leaders be convened for the pur-

pose of exchanging notes and holding friendly discussions on all questions affecting the general well-being of the country. Sir William Wedderburn, the president of the Congress, was also of the opinion that a conference of this nature be convened. As such a conference was proposed, an influential deputation on behalf of the All India Muslim League, headed by H. H. the Agha Khan left for Allahabad to find out a *modus vivendi* for future co-operation. One thing was certain that the Mussalmans were not in a mood to listen to any kind of opposition to the introduction of separate electorates. They held definite views on this issue and resented even the remarks made by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in his speech in the Congress session held at Allahabad on the introduction of separate electorates. On the contrary they were determined to see the introduction of separate representation being extended to all public bodies, particularly Municipal and District Boards, for they thought it a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Unfortunately, the Allahabad conference of which much was expected did not produce the desired result. The Hindus overlooked the fact that those Mussalmans who had been returned from separate electorates had co-operated with their fellow-members on questions where broader principles were involved and the League had not lagged behind condemning the Anti-Asiatic Legislation in South-Africa and showed its concern

for the country. The prejudice of the Hindu leaders did not allow them to see things in their proper perspective. The conference was attended by prominent persons like (Sir) Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Gokhale, (Sir) Sunder Lal, Pt. Madan Mohan Malavia, (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pt. Moti Lal Nehru, Lord Sinha, Maharaja Darbhanga, H. H. the Agha Khan, Nawab Viqarul-Mulk, (Sir) Ibrahim Rahmat-Ullah, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Hasan Imam, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Hakeem Ajmal Khan. From brilliant politicians and the cream of Indian leaders it was expected that a tangible solution could be arrived at, but the Hindu leaders headed by Mr. Malavia adopted an uncompromising attitude and banged the door of unity. The questions discussed and finally referred to the various select committees were, the establishment of Panchayat, the solution of Urdu-Hindi controversy, the lowering of the rate of interest, National Education, the Arya Samaj movement, the playing of Music before the mosque and the cow-sacrifice, the efforts to be made to stop litigations, the cancellation of the principle of forced auction of mortgaged properties and such other matters. The unbending attitude of the Hindu leaders disappointed the Muslims and convinced them that the Hindus desired no compromise. Thus while, for the first time after the establishment of the League the members of the two organisations met together, a golden opportunity was sacrificed at the altar of false pride.

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CHAPTER VII

THE ANNULMENT OF PARTITION, MUSLIM LEAGUE'S RESOLUTION ON SELF-GOVERNMENT, CAWNPORE MOSQUE AND TURKISH QUESTION

The Muslim League had by now ceased to be the only deliberative organization which could voice the resentment of the Muslims against certain proposals of the Government or the utterances of the Congress. It had now become the orbit round which the Mussalmans moved. Every effort was being made, to ameliorate the condition of the Mussalmans. The Congress which was dominated by the Hindus could not tolerate the Muslim revival and as such was vehemently condemning the Muslim League. They wanted to reduce the Mussalmans to the position of a minority and advance Hindu interests. The Mussalmans, on the other hand, rightly held that India did not belong to one nation but was a country with different nationalities, having separate needs which demanded special safeguards against the encroachment of the majority community. In such circumstances the introduction of representative Government meant the domination of the Hindus over the Muslims, a thing which the Muslims were never

prepared to tolerate. The British Government, however, in their zeal to introduce representative Government, overlooked that India was not suited for the type of British Parliamentary institutions. By introducing institutions of the Western type, the Mussalmans were virtually placed under the subjugation of the Hindus in the minority provinces. Every Muslim demand for safeguard against the encroachment on their rights by a hostile majority was considered by the Hindus as a step taken at the instigation of the British. They even considered the formation of Simla Deputation as an ingenious device of British diplomacy. Some of our own Muslim writers, afterwards, committed the same error, partly because they were affected by Congress propaganda, and partly because they did not care to see things impartially.

After the introduction of the Reforms, the League expressed its readiness to work them. The loyalty of the League to the British Crown was an undisputed fact, but at times it vehemently criticised certain actions and proposals of the British Government. In Bengal, the agitation against the partition went on unabated. The efforts to bring about settlement between the two communities proved futile, and thus the argument that the British Government was playing its game of "divide and rule" became meaningless. The painful spectacle which the country presented can best be judged by the fact that as soon as the new Collector or Deputy Commissioner arrived in a district, people were anxious to find out whether he was a pro-native,

pro-Hindu or pro-Mohammadan. At this stage there came another crisis. Certain proposals of the Government regarding the educational policy were considered by the Muslims detrimental to their education. Nawab Viqarul-Mulk could not allow such an important matter to pass unnoticed and wrote very bitter articles criticising the Government for its narrow-mindedness and obnoxious policy under the caption "Suspicion on Government's Educational Policy." This timely step once again helped the Mussalmans out of an embarrassing position.

A deputation was organised and sent to England with a view to influence the responsible quarters to annul the partition. While Hindus under the leadership of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee were trying their best to get this measure cancelled, the Mussalmans were not slow in warning the Government about the subsequent dangers and the loss of prestige to them. The Mussalmans relied upon the pledges of the British Government who always called it, "a settled fact." After the assumption of office by Lord Hardinge as the Viceroy and Governor-General, the question was once again taken up. A long memorial was submitted to him on behalf of the Hindus of Bengal and the Government in its Despatch dated, August 20, 1911, recommended the modification of the Partition of Bengal. The same year, Their Majesties, the King and Queen of England came to India for their coronation. The partition was modified on December 12, 1911, by the announcement made by His Majesty

at Delhi. This announcement came as a bombshell and took the Mussalmans by surprise. They had for long pinned their faith in the words and pledges of the British Government and it was for the first time they realized that even solemn promises could be ignored. All over India Muslims were much perturbed. Nawab Viqarul-Mulk wrote a very high-spirited and indignant article on the future position of the Mussalmans.

These articles invoked criticism from the various Anglo-Indian papers and different interpretations were put to it. Maulana Mohammad Ali, in his paper, "*Comrade*" dealt at length with the partition question and in a serial of articles, under the caption "The Announcement," discussed the betrayal of the Government.

The Mussalmans were taken unawares. Nobody knew that the Government of India, in its Despatch of the 20th August 1911, had suggested the annulment of the partition, with a view to appease Hindu sentiment. In the Despatch itself, it is admitted that the partition agitation was strictly confined to the Hindus. The Despatch says:

> The history of the partition dates from 1902. Various schemes of territorial re-distribution were at that time under consideration and that which was ultimately adopted had at any rate, the merit of fulfilling two of the chief purposes which its Authors had in view. It relieved the over-burdened administration of Bengal and it gave the Mohammadan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had perhaps hitherto not had their fair share.

While the whole of Hindu Bengal was rejoicing over this announcement, there was a lull in the activities of the Mussalmans. It was a day of mourning. The Muslim League which met at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Nawab Salim-Ullah Khan gave expression to its feelings.

All at once the Government of India decided upon the annulment of Partition, based, as they said, on the broad grounds of administrative expediency, but effected in a way which to the popular mind conveyed the impression of having been exacted by clamour and agitation. The anti-partition agitation and its apparent successes were regarded by the ignorant masses as the outcome of a trial of strength between the Bengalee politician and the Government. The exultant agitators in their hour of triumph did all they could to exaggerate the importance of their victory, resulting in a serious blow to British prestige all over the country, especially in East Bengal. But this was not all. The annulment of the Partition had all the appearance of a ready surrender to an utterly seditious agitation.

To the Mussalmans of East Bengal, the annulment meant a heavy blow. More than the loss of those splendid opportunities of self-improvement which they had secured by the Partition, they were affected by the manner in which the change was brought about. Successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State including even Lord Morley had given the assurance that the partition of Bengal would be upheld at all costs.

> The Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal, says Lovat Fraser, were told again and again by Ministers, by Viceroys, by Lieutenant-Governors, by all the officers of the new Province, that they would never more be placed under the dominion of Calcutta Bengalees. Under the greatest provocation they remained perfectly quiet for seven years, relying upon British pledges.

Speaking in the House of Lords in February 1912, Lord Minto said:

> We told the Mussalmans that the Partition was a settled fact, and we over and over again asserted that it must continue to be so. We assured the Mussalman population of Eastern Bengal of our appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. I should think there could have been scarcely a civil servant in India who had not declared that it would be impossible for the British Government to reverse the decision it had come to as regards the maintenance of the Partition of Bengal.

Hardly any political leader in India thought after all the declarations of the British statesmen, that the reversal of the Partition of Bengal was within the bounds of human possibility. But what is the actual fact? As soon as it suited Government to annul the Partition, the Government did not hesitate a moment to disown the declarations of the Government both of India and at home. The pledge that had been solemnly given to the Muslims of Eastern Bengal and repeated over and again for six years was ruthlessly sacrificed in furtherance of what is called the Delhi Scheme. All the sturdy loyalty and the devoted allegiance of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal were quickly

forgotten and the Government did not hesitate to sacrifice them, like so many valueless pawns on the political chess-board, to suit the requirements of Imperial expediency.

Pandit Bishan Narain Dar, the President of the Congress (1911), in his address, rejoiced over the annulment. The fact that the agitation carried on in Bengal was mostly directed against Muslim interests and it was only to over-awe the Government that the various moves were set afoot, can best be illustrated by the avowed loyalty and expression of feelings which the President of the Congress gave in his address. While praising the British Government, he did not forget the Muslim League and vehemently denounced separate electorate. Not being content with his fulmination against the League, he remarked, "I am a Nationalist, and detest sectarianism in politics, but I think the circumstances of the time furnish ample justification for the starting of Hindu Sabhas at least in some parts of the country." After this pronouncement the aim of the Congress became clear. Pandit Dar on a previous occasion had used some disparaging remarks against the person of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and his utterances on this occasion did not come as a surprise. The Mussalmans had realised that their organisation could never be looked upon with favour by the Hindu leaders and the Congress. But honest aims and legitimate aspirations could not be drowned by envy or damned with faint praise. The race that had enriched history with magnificent examples of courage and

self-help had yet to know, by sustained devotion to its ideals and charitable indifference to its detractors, how to rob cowardice of its sneer, envy of its venom and pluck the tongue of scorn by the roots. Circumstances created a peculiar situation for the Mussalmans in this country. From the position of the ruler to the ruled is a pretty long descent, but they accepted them as inevitable, with grace and courage. They rightly began to admire the methods, the wisdom, the fine tolerance and humanity of the power that succeeded them in the Government of the country. But they had to suffer from the modern badge of inferiority which the philosophy of "number" and the democratic wisdom of the age has placed on "minorities." Their religious traditions and historical associations endowed them with an individuality which they regarded and still regard as more precious and vital for their self-realisation than the utter self-effacement implied in some of the most aggressive demands of an "Indian Nationality." For the sake of the ultimate good of the country itself, even apart from the Catholic mission of religion, of brotherhood and peace, they could not reconcile themselves to that supreme act of self-renunciation. But they feared the position of the second fiddle which the new-fangled "nationalism" of some Indian public men and newspapers assigned to them as a "Nationalist," being avowedly Hindu in sympathies and aspirations, developed Hindu symbolism and battle-cries and formula of faith. It was the dread of being entirely swamped that had

driven them to seek the best means for self-preservation. And it is in organising communal education in accordance with their own peculiar needs that they found the remedy. By developing intelligence in the mass of the community, by social reconstruction and by increasing the all-round productive capacity of the individual, they hoped to be able to secure equitable terms in the vast process of political and social change which was going on in the country. The Indian Mussalmans had only one aspiration to work out, a decent and honourable future for their community amidst conditions which were daily growing alarming and militant. The attitude of the Hindu leaders who posed as "Nationalists," the vilification of the nationalist papers like the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" taught them one lesson, at any rate, that they have to depend upon themselves and fit themselves by intelligence and character if they wished to play their part worthily in the evolution of the India that is to be. They were no less patriotic than the gentlemen whose patriotism sought to exclude the Mussalmans from all schemes of Indian nationality. It was no separatism that they sought, but an equal freedom to live and fit themselves for an honourable place in Indian unity. The Mussalmans were also charged with having Pan-Islamic tendencies and the Hindus were naturally afraid of that. But that Pan-Islamism was the cry raised by the Europeans, against the Muslims and that too from a race prejudice out of fear of the growing solidarity of the Mussalmans. The aspirations of the Indian Mus-

lims to preserve their identity as Muslims while fitting themselves for a place in Indian unity was strangely, and in some cases purposely misunderstood. The Mussalmans had realised that although the Hindus were talking of self-Government and of one nation, yet they were extolling the virtues of the British rule in India, organising their own community and doing everything in their power to annihilate the Muslims. Dr. Pattabhi, in recording the success of the Hindus which resulted in the annulment of the partition, says:

> It was ultimately crowned with unqualified success in 1911, in the royal proclamation annuling the Partition. This led to gushing praise of the British Government, renewed faith in its sense of justice and a sense of profound gratitude expressing itself in major flights of oratory.

Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar expressing the opinion on this measure said:

> Every heart is beating in unison, with reverence and devotion to the British throne overflowing with revived confidence in gratitude towards British statesmanship. Some of us never faltered, no, not even in the darkest days of our trails and tribulations in our conviction and in our faith in the ultimate triumph and vendication of British justice.

The Muslims, on the other hand condemned this measure of the Government.

Nawab Viqarul-Mulk expressed the Muslim feelings when he said that, in adopting the measure, the Government completely ignored the wishes of the Mussalmans.

Writing to a friend of his he said:

> The Mussalmans must by united action and efforts at least impress upon the Government that the indifference on the part of the Government has created disappointment and dis-illusionment amongst them. They must show their resentment for I see that on the one side the Partition of Bengal has been annulled and on the other, I find that not a word has been expressed about the manner and condition in which the various rights and privileges of the Mussalmans are to be safe-guarded; this policy of the Government is like that artillery which passed on the corpses without minding whether there was some life still pulsating amongst them and without minding that such a march is tortuous in the extreme.

Turkish Question

The annulment of the partition was not the only calamity. The Mussalmans never passed through such a critical period as between 1911 to 1925. The war between Italy and Turkey, events in Persia and above all the Balkan War, created considerable sympathy with Turkey and resentment at the attitude of the British Government. The sympathy of Indian Muslims with Turkey had come into evidence as far back as the time of the Crimean war and is referred to in the private correspondence of Lord Dalhousi, published not long ago. It had now strengthened with time. The Muslims disliked British agreement with Russia and contrasted British inaction during the Balkan Wars with her championship of Turkey in former days. They saw

that while Japan was proving the ability of an Asiatic power to make herself respected, the few remaining Muslim powers, Morocco, Persia and Turkey were sinking. Turning their eyes to their own country, they beheld in Lord Morley's reforms and the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, what they regarded as conclusive triumph of the policy of agitation pursued by the Congress. While these impressions were working on their minds, Congress newspapers seemed to rejoice over the misfortune of Turkey. All these things working together produced a remarkable effect. The progress of the unfortunate events in Balkan states was anxiously watched by the Mussalmans of India. The dismemberment of Turkey, evoked widespread regret, in which some non-Muslims also shared, and the fate of Muslim States, the treatment meted out to them by Europe made the deepest and most painful impression on every mind. The British Government could not help Turkey against its enemies for the dream of the dismemberment of the dominions of the Sick Man of Europe was nourished for long. Mijatovich who represented Serbia both at Constantinople and at the court of St. James very frankly said:

> Political interest made us, the Balkan nations, paint the Turks as cruel Asiatic tyrants incapable of European civilisation. An impartial history would prove that the Turks are rather Europeans than Asiatics, and that they are not cruel tyrants, but a nation loving justice and fairness and possessing qualities and virtues which deserve to be acknowledged and respected. The martial

> era of the Turkish history having been, not ingloriously closed. Historical Providence seems to have in store a high mission for the Turks.

The defeat of Turkey was felt by the whole of Islamic world. The Mussalmans realised the full import of the grave crisis in their history which roused in them a feeling of brotherhood. They had never before felt the strength of Islam as a unifying force and never adhered to it so tenaciously as they did during and after the period.

All these events profoundly affected the Muslim thought as a result of which, the Muslim League appointed a committee to consider in the light of the past events the future programme to be adopted. Mr. (now Sir) Wazir Hasan who was then the secretary of the League issued a circular letter in which he asked different persons to express their opinions. As a result of this exchange of views and deliberations, the Council of All India Muslim League recommended the change in the creed of the League which was to be the demand of self-Government for India. As (Sir) Mr. Wazir Hasan said in his letter:

> This is clearly the result of the evolutionary process set in motion by a crictical stage of western institutions and methods of education. It was forcing only a short time ago men of thought and it was obvious then as it is now that the Mussalman community could not further be lulled into a state of unconsciousness of their educational needs and political rights. Another unmistakable and important feature of the times is the marvellous awakening of the Muslim community as a whole.

The All India Muslim League Council recommended this change in the League creed to be adopted by the Annual session. The work of the League as a whole was hampered by the events in Turkey and Persia. The Mussalmans as members of a world-wide fraternity, recognising no racial or geographical limits, were naturally in sympathy with the sufferings of the Mussalmans in the islands of Malaya. The sudden depredation of Italy on the Tripolitan coasts and Muscovite high-handedness in Persia could never fail to impress their minds. The All India Muslim League made a strong representation to the Government of India requesting the Foreign Office to impress upon Italy the unrighteousness of its dealing with Turkey and advised Indian Musalmans to boycott Italian manufactures of which a list was published as, "Measures of Retaliation." The Musalmans had a faith in Turkey and always considered it strong enough, notwithstanding its miserable navy to come to honourable terms with Italy whenever the ludicrous fiasco of a war in Tripoly was to come to an end. The unscrupulous Muscovites who were carrying on a war against Persia to appease its unsatiable land-hunger, had also aroused a deep feeling of condemnation amongst the Muslims of India and the Muslim League offered repeated representations on the Persian question. These events naturally produced the expected results.

The All India Muslim League, at an exciting session, held at Lucknow adopted amongst others, the following resolution:—

> That the All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities and hopes that leaders of both sides will periodically meet together to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action in questions of public good.

Another resolution which the League adopted was "the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India." The League did not view favourably the adoption of colonial form of Government as was defined in the Congress creed. Mian (Sir) Mohammad Shafee, the President of the session in clarifying the difference, said:

> The adoption of the alternative proposal put forward by some of our friends that the League should set up colonial form of Government in India as its ultimate goal is in my opinion inadmissible as well as politically unsound. The political conditions internal and external prevailing in the British colonies have no analogy whatsoever with that obtaining in India and I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon. Mr. Jinnah in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be absolutely unwise.

The Hon. Nawab Syed Mohammad, the Congress president in his address, maintained that "The ideal which the Congress adopted a few years ago after mature consideration and with the advice of its friends and supporters in England, was in my opinion a practical solution of the difficulties that were then confronting us." Mr. Syed (Sir) Wazir Hasan, the secretary of the League, said

that "The ideal of self-government which the All India Muslim League has placed on its programme is an important step towards the formation of the great nationality for the building of which all Indians are aspiring." The "coming events" which were foretold by S. Wazir Hasan gave ample hopes by the reception which the Congress gave to the adoption of this creed by the League. The President of the Congress, Mr. Syed Mohammad, said:

> I rejoice to see a conclusive proof that the members of the religious fraternity to which I belong have resolved not to live in a state of perpetual isolation from every community, even though it may be splendid isolation. In support of this I repeat the words of my friend Mr. Wazir Hasan that the progress of the common motherland must depend on a co-operation among all persons. I will rejoice more to find that it is not due to temporary or accidental causes that this new policy has been decided upon but is the direct result of circumstances which exist and are incessantly working to remind them of higher conceptions of duty and patriotism.

There were other reasons which were driving the Mussalmans away from the traditional loyalty to the British. The majority of the leading Mohammadans in August 1912, were unable to come to terms with Government in regard to the condition under which a Mohammadan University was to be established at Aligarh. Later, in the same year, Indian Mussalmans despatched a medical Red Crescent Mission to Turkey under the leadership of Dr. M. A. Ansari. The students of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh rose to the height of their patriot-

ism by sacrificing all their luxuries and taking to simple diet with a view to save money and help the Turks. This sense of world fraternity was looked upon with grave suspicion in the higher circles of the Government. The Mussalmans were charged of professing Pan-Islamic feelings and the Government once again started its persecution. The London papers in their editorials referred to the feelings of the Mussalmans in the same terms.

While the events in the various Islamic countries were engaging the attention of the Mussalmans at home there occurred a tragedy, commonly known as Cawnpore mosque affair. Lord Harding, the Viceroy, personally went to Cawnpore and settled the matter. Mr. Ibrahim Rahmat-Ullah who presided at the League session, discussing the attitude of the officials who were responsible for this tragedy said:

> There is a class of croakers who have said before, and will say again, that it is all very well to talk about winning the hearts of the people; but what about British prestige? If Government are to surrender to every agitation started against official measures, the work of administration will become impossible and the British people under these circumstances may as well clear out of the country. It is this class of irresponsible people, though they may belong to the British race, which is largely responsible for any existing estrangement. It is people who imagine that the 'mailed fist' is the policy, who are really responsible for the increasing difficulties which confront the official world.

Mr. Ibrahim Rahmat-Ullah, referring to the firing over an unarmed mob, said, "This power should

only be exercised on occasion when the position is so grave as to leave no other alternative for controlling and dispersing the crowd."

After dealing with Britain's foreign policy in so far as it affected the Muslims, he turned to the Hindu-Muslim question and observed:

> Every one must recognise that no form of self-government is possible in India unless, the two principle communities, the Hindus and the Muslims are closely and conscientiously united. What can be a nobler aim, a loftier goal than to endeavour to secure India united. Once we become sincerely and genuinely united, there is no force in the world which can keep us from our heritage. Without such unions the Indians will have to wait indefinitely for the realisation of their fondest hope. Instead of having differences and dissensions amongst ourselves at the present time on matters of remote realisation, I would earnestly appeal to all true sons of India to concentrate all their talents on the consummation of ensuring a united India; then we might well leave the future to take care of itself, full of hope and confidence.

Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-Ullah, on behalf of the League, again extended the hand of co-operation to the Congress which was fortunately reciprocated in the Congress Session. At a time when serious efforts were being made to compose the difference, an unfortunate controversy took place in London between Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan, who were there as the representatives of the Muslim League, and Mr. Amir Ali, over certain matters regarding the procedure and the form of representation to be made. Mr. Amir Ali was of the opinion that the London Branch of the

All India Muslim League should function as an independent body. This attitude was resented by the Mother League, and while recognising the yeomen services of Mr. Amir Ali to the cause of Islam, his great literary achievements, his masterly exposition of the faith of Islam demanded lasting gratitude of the Mussalmans, it decided that in this case it was not the personalities that mattered but principles. Nawab Viqarul-Mulk had already expressed his opinion on this issue and was not prepared to give a long rope to the London League.

Happily for the League this long-drawn controversy was amicably settled through the intervention and mediation of His Highness the Agha Khan. The Secretary of State for India could not find his way to receive Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan. The Mussalmans by this attitude were all the more convinced that Britain was only keeping a show of her neutrality towards the Turkish Empire, while in fact the British statesmen were eager to see the dismemberment of the great Ottoman Empire and keen to share the spoils. The League's deputation, though it failed to achieve its object of personally laying before the Secretary of State for India, the views of Indian Mussalmans, yet it achieved one thing of great importance. It was left to Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan to induce Mr. M. A. Jinnah who was in England as a member of Congress delegation, to sign the League pledge. On their return back from London, every well-

wisher of the Muslims deprecated the attitude which the Home Government adopted and Nawab Viqarul-Mulk in an article said, "The time has come when our youngmen have begun to realise that the real honour is the one which the people of the country confer and not the one which the Government bestows." The young men of Aligarh manifested the greatest love for their faith and for the Muslims outside by the many acts of renunciation and self-abjuration. The poems of Shibli and Hali, the articles of Viqarul-Mulk had undoubtedly moved every soul. The veil of pessimism was lifted. The activities of the Mussalmans, their inordinate love for their co-religionists abroad, their desire to raise the status of their own community and their passionate love for their country, drew upon them the attention of publicists in India and abroad. The *London Times* which had been the pronounced opponent of self-government for India and whose columns were devoted to alternately of ridiculing and denouncing the ideal of the Muslims, criticised the self-government ideal of the League. The effort to attain self-government naturally involved self-improvement. The conscious effort to rise in the political scale connoted an uplifting of the whole man with all his activities in the various spheres of life. Amongst the Mussalmans a stupendous upward movement, political in inception but profoundly beneficent and stimulating to their religious ideals, their social institution and industrial evolution was being witnessed. The ideal of self-government was not a hasty impulse.

The Indian Mussalmans fully realised the response which the adoption of such a creed imposed upon them. The *London Times* indulged in its characteristic fulmination against one of its pet aversions, the growth of democratic feelings in India. It remarked:

> Young Mohummadans have already condemned the work of years, have wrought great injury to the cause of Islam in India; turning a wise well-directed movement into political agitation, calculated rather to strengthen sedition than to advance the legitimate claims of Mohummadans.

The denunciation of the *Times* was certainly directed against the Mussalmans for their sympathies in the Turko-Balkan war. The question which of all others loomed large before them and which had made for Muslim solidarity was the question of Muchhli-bazar mosque at Cawnpore as well as the Turkish war.

Alarm was naturally roused, for they saw in the new movement a force which they did not wish to see. The adoption of suitable self-government as an ideal was adopted after a heated discussion by a large majority. Undoubtedly there were some Muslims who regarded the proposal as the departure from the fixed policy of the Mohammadans and destructive to their interest as a minority in India. This was a class conservative in out-look. The younger and the more educated elements desired identity with that expressed by the Congress. His Highness the Agha Khan, who was the permanent President of the League, was not

present at the meeting. In a meeting of the London branch he commented on the resolution:

> If [he said] self-government for India meant as I take it to mean an ideal involving many decades of efforts towards self-improvement, social reform, educational diffusion and complete amity between the various communities the ideal must commend itself to thoughtful approval. But if it meant a mere hasty impulse to jump at the apple when only the blossoming stage was over, then the day that witnessed the formulation of the ideal will be a very unfortunate one in the annals of their country.

Not long afterwards he resigned the Presidentship of the League and stopped his contribution to it.

The Congress and the Muslim League were expressing the same feelings which the British Government did not approve of and the Government was much perturbed for Lord Bryce in one of his illuminated essays had observed:

> It has been suggested that when the differences of caste and religion which now separate the people of India from one another have begun to disappear......new dangers may arise to threaten the permanence of British power.

In the midst of these events came the catastrophe and the declaration of war against Germany. With its vast resources, man-power, raw-material and other advantages which England derives from India, British Statesmen were naturally anxious to have voluntary co-operation from the Indians. In the

same year 1914, the Congress met at Madras and conveyed its whole-hearted loyalty and devotion to His Majesty. It further appreciated the principles of equality and justice on which, as the President of the session (Babu Bhupendranath Basu) said, "rests the foundation of the British rule in India became invested with the lineaments of life and re-asserted their sway over people's mind and heart." The President of the Congress very much eulogised the benefit which India derived from England and material benefit which the British rule conferred on this country. But with all this expression of loyalty there was certainly an intensity of feeling, a growing demand for more radical change in the working of Indian Government and a growing desire of association of the Indians with the administration. Every country and every nation has a right to demand a price of co-operation. Though India was under the subjection of the British rule, but its people were already pledged to self-government. The two great representative organisations of the country, the Congress and the Muslim League had already adopted this form of the Government as their creed and thus spoken the mind of Indians. Very naturally thus India, while offering its co-operation to the British demanded a fundamental change in the constitution of the country. The President of the Congress made further declaration and admitted that India was no doubt a continent and not a country, divided into small administrative areas, and as he said "divided into communities, castes and sects,......

divided by religion, language and race; by different types of stages of civilisation and progress and by different methods of administration." Realising all these facts he appealed to throw away the lethargy and to bind "our waist-clothes on and head forward to our goal and goal is not unworthy of our highest aspirations." Mr. Gandhi who after his return from South Africa had captured the imagination of the rank and file of the Congress through his non-violent methods came to India as a God-send to the British.

His help to the British in recruitment and by other ways drew Indians more to the side of the British. The Muslim League met in Bombay a year later. The spirit of unity which pervaded the atmosphere of India was manifested in its session without obliterating its distinctive Islamic character. It had now on its platform the President of the Congress and other leaders. The Co-operation of the Congress volunteers with those of the Muslim League, the friendly attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslim leaders, all gave evidence of the new spirit that had now come over the political life of India. Prominent amongst those belonging to the Congress were Sir S. P. Sinha (President), Hon. Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha (Chairman of the Reception Committee), Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. Horniman and R. N. Mudholker, all attending the Bombay session of the League.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LEAGUE AND THE CONGRESS JOINT SCHEME OF REFORM FOR INDIA

The year 1915 is a landmark in the political history of India. Every one seemed to be animated with a sincere desire to bring about political unity between the various parties in the country. It was not purely a question of finding out a meeting ground for the Hindu-Muslim problem but to unite the two wings of the Congress which after the Surat Session stood for distinct ideologies. Mrs. Besant who joined the Congress in 1914, took the initiative in this matter. The nationalists had not as yet come into their own. There was a party in the Congress led by Tilak, wanting to start an agitation for Home-rule. The efforts of Mrs. Besant to bring the Moderates and the Nationalists together in the Congress proved abortive. At the Bombay Congress of 1915, "however, the first sign of that great revival in that public interest in the Congress after the Surat imbroglio became visible. It made its influence felt from and after the next following Congress at Lucknow." The Congress recorded the loyalty of the people to the crown and its abiding sense in the righteousness of the cause espoused

by Great Britain and her allies and "expressed gratification at the splendid achievements of the British Navy." It was in this very session that the Congress demanded important and:

> Substantial measures of reform towards self-government so as to secure to the people an effective control over the Government by introduction of provincial autonomy, expansion and reform of Legislative Councils where they existed and their establishment in provinces where they did not exist, the reconstruction of various existing executive councils and their establishment in provinces where they did not exist, the reform or abolition of the India Council and a liberal measure of self-government.

The resolution further asked the All India Congres Committee "to frame a scheme of reform and a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist," and it authorised the Committee "to confer with the Committee of the All India Muslim League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary."

There was a section amongst the Mussalmans who did not like the holding of the session of the League on account of the war. But the more influential and the far-sighted thought it expedient to convene a session and express its opinion on issues which India had to face on account of its participation in the war. Every one had realised that with India's participation, there was bound to be a new orientation of policy of the British towards India. The more sober elements considered it wise and reasonable not to remain passive spec-

tators while all the rest of the Indian people were stirring up to a new life and the programme of India's immediate future was fast undergoing the process of formulation. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, who was also an old and ardent Congressman, was elected as the President of the session. After replying to the critics of the Muslim League, who did not want its session as they thought its deliberations were likely to embarrass the Government, he exhorted the Mussalmans to have self-reliance and to get rid of unreliable and temporary props and to stand upon their own legs. Too long had their policy been dominated by fear. The President openly said, that "we must have independence and open our eyes in the fresh air." There were undoubtedly dissensions amongst the Mussalmans and every one realised that a tendency to disunion would ultimately end in disruption. The president Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq gave the following timely warning to the Muslims:

> These are times when new forces are coming into play and new ideals are convulsing Muslim society which have to be carefully nursed and fostered and must not be frittered away in senseless dissentions. True organisation is the secret of the strength of a society, and we must be so organised that our voice will command and compel respect and the country and the Government recognise in it the well-considered and unanimous opinion of the entire community which it would not be easy to ignore. We cannot go on dissipating our strength in fruitless and harmful attempts at compromise that only hamper us in our onward progress. Our League has done most useful work. It is a progressive

body and is ready to adapt itself to the interets and the time.

For the first time the Muslim League took up a challenging attitude and did not confine itself to passing resolutions of mere loyalty. The President openly accused England for having neglected Indian affairs and said:

The things that have been left unaccomplished are the things that really matter in the life of a nation. England has borne the burden of India, but has not prepared her to bear her own burdens. She has not made her strong, self-reliant and self-supporting. She has not made her a nation respected by the other nations of the world. She has not developed the resources of the country, as it was her duty to develop them. She has not helped the Indian people to live a life of the greatest possible fulness. She has failed to bring out the capacities of the people of Hindustan to their fullest extent. England's connection with India has lasted for about a century and a half and most parts of the country have been under her direct rule during this period. But the progress India has made with all her vast resources, material, moral and economic, is comparatively very small. Compare her with other countries. Compare her with Japan. Within 40 years Japan, from being one of the weakest and most backward countries of the world, has advanced to the position of one of the foremost and the most highly developed nations and is counted among the great Powers. But in the case of India, the government of the country has been conducted on lines which were not conducive to any good results. The children of the soil have no real share in the Government of their own country. Policy is laid down and carried on by non-Indians which oftener than not, goes against the wishes of the people and ignore their sentiments. Unless and until India has got a national govern-

ment and is governed for the greatest good of the Indian people, I do not see how she can be contented. India does not demand a place in the sun in any aggressive sense but she does require the light of the Indian sun for her own children.

The League very much resented the Government action in depriving Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali and some other Muslims of their liberty and in interning them under the Defence of India Act. The strangulation of the Muslim papers under the Press Act was equally deplored. In spite of the fact that Muslims had remained peaceful all these years yet the government adopted a senseless policy of repression. They had lost sight of the fact that "the best way to create trust is to trust others; for, by mistrust, we get nothing but mistrust." The Muslim League naturally expected that as a result of India's participation in war and particularly of the Mussalmans who had to take an important decision in going to the side of Britain, against that of the Caliph who was at war with the British. Mussalmans further hoped that after the declaration of peace the Muslim countries would be dealt with in a way not derogatory to their dignity, for there were four hunderd millions of Mussalmans in the world bound together in common brotherhood whose feelings and sentiments no government could afford to ignore in any settlement to be arrived at, and as they pointed out "there is a living force and a great potent strength in this vast human brotherhood which if properly realised would be an immense

asset." Regarding the demands about the future position of India, the President of the Muslim League pleaded for "unanimity on these questions amongst all the people of India" and he could conceive of "no better agency than that of a joint deputation of the Congress and the League, which would place our demands before the British public and the British Government." He added:

> Of course, before such a deputation is formed there must be a joint conference of the trusted leaders of both these organisations in which a general agreement must be arrived at and the interests of all safeguarded. Such an agreement should be placed before public meetings of recognised political institutions of the different communities for confirmation. I have no doubt that such a representation would command a sympathetic hearing from the British nation.

The Mussalmans were thus on the horns of a dilemma. The participation of Turkey on the side of Germany had placed them in a very awkward position. Maulana Mohammad Ali's moving article about the fate of Turkey evoked a new sense amongst the Muslims towards the Turks.

Maulana Mohammad Ali was so concerned about the Turks that he wrote another well-considered article under the caption, "Choice of the Turks," in which he had shown to what length Indian Mussalmans were then prepared in assisting their foreign government. Writing in his paper he said:

> All truly loyal people have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are

> likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more reasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dream; if for instance, the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced; or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is no time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes!

As a result of it the Government forfeited the security of the *Comrade* and the paper ceased publication. These activities of the Government had a profound effect on the feelings of the Mussalmans all over India. By confining him in gaol the British added insult to the injury, and the Mussalmans began to look upon Maulana as their hero. But the British Government was compelled to give solemn pledges to the Mussalmans as regard the holy places of Islam. During the war Mussalmans were required in defence of their religious obligations to assist Government in waging war against the "Khalifa" and "Jazira-tul-Arab" which includes Syria, Palestine which Mussalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her allies. The holy places of Islam which are not particular buildings merely but territories including the three sacred Harams of Macca, Madina and Jerusalem were taken away from the successors of the Prophet

and Commander of the Faithful. The dismemberment of the empire of the Khalifa, the appointment of non-Muslim mandatories to control various portions of it and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds, were openly advocated by the Allies and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as did Great Britain herself. The bitter experience of the betrayal by the British brought home to the Mussalmans the need of an equitable settlement and an understanding with the sister-communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal. The time too was ripe for Hindu-Muslim reunion. True partnership and association whether in business, social relationship or in love requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant is perhaps possible but far from common and it was true instinct that guided Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy, with regard to the Minto-Morley reforms, however, Mussalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolian war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Go-

vernment, and through this struggle the Mussalmans strengthened themselves to the extent that they could stand in the line with the advanced communities of India and could march hand in hand with all the progressive forces.

The rapid change in the outlook of the Mussalmans was best manifested in Bombay Session. Comparing the tone of the two addresses delivered at the Congress and League sessions in Bombay, Maulana Mohammad Ali very humorously remarked:

> So rapid had been the progress of the Mussalmans that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengalee President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. By some unfortunate mistake, Lord Sinha read out the halting and hesitating address of the ever loyal Muslim while the ever loyal Muslim read out the piquant and pungent address of the ever disloyal Bengalee. (laughter) But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions, and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haq had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengalee, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the 'ever loyal' Muslim.

As hitherto pointed out there was a section amongst the Mussalmans with a narrow outlook, unscrupulous in their ambition, with no initiative of their own, always willing and ready to dance to

the official tune, which was grumbling over the possibility of a session, at a time when the Congress Session was also being held. A few hired persons by that section were pitched in the Pandal of the League. No less strange was the presence of a force of about 50 police-men armed with *lathis*, who were kept in readiness in an enclosure just in front of the Pandal and half a dozen police officers under Superintendent Walker, were patrolling the ground. The police Commissioner Mr. Edwards was also present on the spot inside the Pandal. Several C. I. D. officers, both European and Indian had taken seats as visitors. An ordinary interpellation between the President and Mr. Hasrat Mohani, which one is apt to dispose of as a very trivial matter, was the scene of an uproar. The malcontent section with a view to achieve their objective resorted to an appeal to the religious sentiments of the audience. The President of the Session was decried and pictured as a man who cannot be called a Mohammadan. He was reminded in a typical fashion, "that the holy Quran asks to dress like a Mohammadan. You must speak the Mohammadan tongue." In the confusion that followed those behind the curtain came in the forefront leading the unruly mob. Sulaiman Haji Qasim Mitha, who was in the beginning against the Muslim League, holding its session at Bombay but had subsequently agreed to a compromise, rushed towards the dais at the head of these persons and began to speak vehemently. The real fact was that the presence of the Congress leaders in the

League Session and the cordial atmosphere that was evinced had perturbed the minds of some of the English Officials. Mr. Mitha alleged that the conveners of the Session were merging the League into the Congress and were playing into the hands of Congress leaders and that by doing so they had sunk the League in darkness and were wiping it out of existence. Finding it difficult to continue the proceedings, the President adjourned the meetings and the rest of the proceedings were conducted in Taj Mahal Hotel. The leaders who assembled there presented a model of sobriety, dignity and determination. All were animated by the spirit of unshakable unity. This was indeed a gathering of honest men resolved to dispatch grave and responsible work.

Mr. Jinnah moved the resolution calling upon the All India Muslim League to appoint a committee with a view to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms and to authorise that committee to confer with other political organisations. It was made clear that in the formation of the aforesaid scheme of reforms, due regard be paid to the needs and interests of the Mussalmans. Mr. Jinnah made it clear that by adopting this resolution and formulating the scheme, he wanted to take that scheme to the British Government and say that the scheme had been formulated by the League and the Congress and these were the reforms which they demanded in the name of united India. As a result of the resolution a representative committee was appointed to perform the function assigned to it.

The resolution found general support from all quarters including Maulvi Abul Kalam Azad, who was a member of the League then. The Congress which was also holding its deliberations in the same city welcomed the proposals adopted by the All India Muslim League. Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress after paying homage, unswerving fidelity and unshaken allegiance to the Sovereign, recounted India's contribution to war and he was glad to know that "In the great galaxy of heroes, in the imperishable Roll of Honour, there are now, and there will never cease to be, beloved Indian names testifying to the fact that our people would rather die unsullied than outlive the disgrace of surrender to a bastard civilization." No person could overlook the fact that the heavy sacrifice which India was making was bound to give India an opportunity as nothing else could have done to demand a greater control of the administration. The President of the Congress once again reiterated the demands of the Indian people to that higher goal for the attainment of which India was making every sacrifice. In touching words he said, that "the only satisfactory form of self-government to which India aspires cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln, so pithily described as government of the people, for the people and by the people." No self-respecting citizen could ignore the new outlook which had come on the Indian people. Thousands of youngmen who in the classic words of Lord Morley, "Leave our university, intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality

and self-government," could no longer restrain their feelings and ignore the comfortless assurances, that, free institutions are the special privilege of the West. It was difficult to overlook or to ignore the new spirit that had dawned. The President of the Congress advised his countrymen to have faith in the British justice. How far this trust reposed in British sense of justice by the Congress President was realised, we shall presently examine. In pursuance of the resolution adopted in Bombay Session, of the League and the Congress, the Reform Committee was called at Lucknow on the 21st of August 1916, to consider and discuss a tentative scheme of Reforms. Discussions were held at the All India Congress Committee meeting at Allahabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, April 1916, at the residence of Pandit Motilal Nehru. The proposals which emanated after careful consideration by the All India Congress Committee were considered at a joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and Council of the Muslim League in October 1916, in Calcutta. Nineteen elected members of the Viceroy's Imperial Legislative Council also drew up a memorandum in which they embodied the main feature of the Congress-League scheme over their signatures in October 1916. The memorandum noted, that "the people of India have good reason to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook and for the steady, if slow advances in her national life commencing with the Charter

Act of India of 1833." It affirmed the "very limited character" of the Indian element introduced into the administration by the Reforms of 1909. It stated that the Legislative Councils were mere advisory bodies "without any power of effective control over the Government Imperial or Provincial." It stated that the people of India were placed "under great and galling disabilities from which the other members of the British Empire were exempt." These disabilities had reduced them to a state of "utter helplessness." It referred to such grievances as the Arms Act and the system of indentured emigration into certain British Colonies. It asserted that the loyalty of the country during the war entitled India to a position of comradeship, not subordination, to "Government that is acceptable to the people and responsible to them." It suggested specific reforms on Congress-League lines, and practically declared for parliamentary government in India. The All India Congress Committee and the reform committee of the All India Muslim League met at Calcutta in November and again at Lucknow in December 1916, and conjointly settled a detailed scheme of reform as a definite step towards self-government. Before the educative propaganda could be seriously undertaken in all parts of the country, the reforms formulated after great and anxious deliberations by leading men of the Community in India became the subject of strong and adverse criticism in high quarters. H. E. the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, made a speech at Calcutta on the eve of the Congress Session in

December in which referring apparently to the memorandum of nineteen elected members of his Legislative Council, he deprecated what he was pleased to call "catastrophic changes." About the same time, in an article, which Lord Sydenham contributed in December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* and to which he gave the sensational heading "The Danger in India," he condemned the proposals of the nineteen elected members as "revolutionary proposals." In a second article on the same subject in the January number of the same magazine, he insinuated that German intrigue was at work in India and grossly misrepresented Indian claims with reference to the memorandum which had been submitted and he opined that "some Moderates under the influence of Extremists are demanding a revolution," and concluded by suggesting that repression was inevitable to avert "the danger" involved in allowing such demands to be made.

The policy suggested by Lord Sydenham did not take long to be inaugurated in this country. It is generally believed that in March the Government of India issued a circular to Local Governments outlining the policy to be pursued by the latter in connection with the Indian demand for the Reforms. The terms of that circular are not known to the public. But in May, His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and H. E. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, made pronouncements which betrayed by their similarity of intention and phraseology, a common source

of inspiration. In these pronouncements, the two Provincial authorities exaggerated the nature of the Indian demands, deprecated them in strong language, enjoined the people to abstain from all agitation while the war was going on, and threatened them with repressive action if they did not do so.

Educated Indians resented being told, notwithstanding what was going on in England and in other parts of the Empire, not to carry on, during the war, an educative propaganda for any constitutional reform whatever but to remain silent on pain of repression, while the Government of India were known to have formulated in secret and despatched to the Secretary of State for his approval certain proposals for post-war reforms which, judging from the speeches of the Provincial authorities referred to above, could only be of a minor character, the hopes and expectations which the Indian public were told not to entertain, were in fact ardently cherished by them for more than a generation and were further strengthened by the assurances given by responsible British Statesmen since the beginning of the war in warm appreciation of India's spontaneous and enthusiastic rally in the cause of the Empire and her own help to England in men, and money. Assurances were repeated from time to time, in language of undoubted sincerity encouraging India to hope that "after the war she will have her full share of liberty, justice and political equality" for which England and her great allies were carrying on the gigantic struggle. After

the pronouncement of the various Provincial Governments, suspicions well grounded were transformed into constant conviction to the effect that England was not willing to concede the Indian demands.

In June the same year it became known in India that the Grand Shareef of Mecca had revolted against the authority of the Sultan of Turkey. For a considerable period, the Sultan and Shareefs had acted in harmony, the Shareefs acknowledging the Khilafat of the Sultans in return for general protection and heavy subsidies. The revolt of the Shareef Hussain was keenly regretted by the members of the Muslim League. They believed that the Shareef had acted at the instigation of the British. Such were the feelings entertained by the Mussalmans at a time when the country, rather the whole world, was in the grip of a bloody war. In India where every possible effort was being made to formulate a united scheme of reform for the future government of the country, such events were bound to have their repurcussions. A new movement was already started by Mrs. Besant under the Home Rule League. It was at this juncture that Mrs. Besant came into great prominence. "She jumped from religion to politics, from Theosophy to Home Rule."

It was left for the Lucknow Session of the Congress and the Muslim League to adopt finally the scheme which they had hammered out after careful investigation of all the circumstances and had finally agreed upon after holding another joint deli-

berations in Calcutta. The Lucknow Sessions of the Congress and the League were unique for the fraternisation of the Hindus and Muslims as well as for the formulation of a scheme of self-government. The Congress which had split up in Surat stood once again as a united body. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who was playing a leading role in bringing about this unity, and who had joined the League in 1913, "on the solemn preliminary covenant that that loyalty to the Muslim League, Muslim interest would in no way and in no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated" was elected as the President of the historic session. True to his words and to the ideal to which he had dedicated his life, he addressed the vast assemblage of the Mussalmans who had come to attend the session of the Muslim League which had become conspicuous amongst representative institutions of this vast continent as the staunchest champion of the rights and privileges of the Muslim community in India. The Mussalmans were determined not to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammer blows of fate were fashioning the frame-work of a new, a better and a freer world. To them the problem of the future of India was more complex and an anxious one. They could not tolerate the stand-still and take no thought for the morrow, when the morrow was to usher in a new era in the history of the world and the nation. The affairs of the country had reached a stage where the petty differences of race and creed were sunk

and the situation demanded a united action. The patriotism and sense of duty to the generations yet unborn were on trial. The future of India hung in the balance. The Mussalmans knew how to answer the clarion call of duty. They were determined to fight the battle of constitutional freedom. Within six years of its birth, the great Muslim political organisation had emerged from its primeval shell and had set before itself a goal, towards which the rest of India was gradually moving. The widening of purpose and outlook was not due to the fiat of any masterful personality, but was the result of strong pressure of popular opinion. The task to which the Mussalmans had addressed themselves was essentially a task of reconstruction in concert with the rest of their fellow countrymen. They had to prepare a scheme of reforms for the administration and Government of India to be introduced as soon as could be possible, after the end of the war. The Mussalmans completely ignored the many sins of omissions and commission which the Government of the day had committed for they were asked to discharge a bigger and more essential task in the accomplishment of which their energies were bent. There can be no doubt that the Press Act and Defence of India Act had caused great anxiety and alarm. They, however, closed their eyes to the high-handed action of the authorities which had resulted in the suspension of the publication of *Comrade* and *Hamdard*. They were prepared to ignore the internment of the popular Muslim leaders like Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, who were

behind the bars with no charges brought against them. In short the circumstances under which the Session was held were exceptional and as the president remarked, were bound to bring "A new epoch in the history of our country, all that is great and inspiring in the common affairs of the men for which, the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages in all climes." The Mussalmans were called upon to discharge a sacred trust. Replying to the criticism of the demands of the Indian people and the attitude of the British statesmen Mr. Jinnah remarked:

> This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common; that our interests are opposed to those of the masses—in what respect, it is never pointed out—and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of the century and of the All India Muslim League to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.

He put in a powerful plea for Indian Self-government and said:

> If the Indians are not the Pariahs of Nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organise together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government, i.e., the attainment of the power to apply through properly organised channels the common national will and intelligence to the needs, and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of Nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.

After appealing for harmonious relations between the two communities on which rested the foundation of India's future, Mr. Jinnah said:

> Is India to be ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland and the dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country, that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position.

Regarding the demands of the Indian people Mr. Jinnah said: "These demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word."

The Congress which was holding its session in the same city reciprocated in full the sentiments expressed by the Mussalmans. Babu Ambika

Charan Mazumdar, the President of the Congress (Lucknow, 1916) observed:

> The Congress and the League have come to meet at the same place and the day may not be far distant when, in spite of the Siren song which has so far diverted their course, they will come to meet in the same pavilion and at the same time. The Hindus and Mohammadans are rapidly converging towards each other, and, indeed, it would be a miracle if they did not so converge and if they continued to fly off at a tangent despite the irresistible attraction of the great centripetal force which is drawing them towards their common centre. The stock argument based upon occasional differences and disturbances between Hindus and Mussalmans cannot have much force. These are confined mostly to lower classes of people on either side.

These expressions of desire for Hindu-Muslim unity, were embodied in the draft scheme which was adopted in Calcutta and the details of which were settled at Lucknow and finally adopted by the League. The result of the joint conference marked the birth of the new era of brotherhood between the Hindus and Mussalmans, pregnant with immense potentialities for the future. Recommendations of the joint conference of the Congress and the League were adopted in the form of joint scheme for Reforms, and were submitted to the Government.

The Provincial Government was much perturbed by these deliberations and a warning by the Secretariat of the United Provinces Government was given both to the Congress and the League, but they treated it with contempt. Lieutenant

Governor Sir James Meston, rose to the occasion and averted all complications. Sir James and Lady Meston both attended the Congress and the League session and were cordially welcomed. After adopting this scheme and presenting a united front against all odds, new developments took place in the country which we shall presently examine in detail. The League and the Congress stood on one platform for some years, fighting for a common destiny and for a common goal all for the glory of the Motherland.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOME RULE AGITATION MR. MONTAGUE'S VISIT AND HIS REPORT

One of the crucial problems which had marred the fair name of India was now happily solved. For the first it was realised that if there was a genuine spirit of accommodation, the Hindu-Muslim problem could be solved. The Mussalmans were prepared to make sacrifices if their interest in any way stood in the realisation of India's unity. It was fortunate that this unity was achieved by voluntary agreement rather than by the intervention of a third party. The political struggle was thus launched with a clear mind and in a chastened mood.

A more widely popular agitation in favour of Home Rule was started and people were sure that no repression could damp their spirit. The cry of Home Rule spread to the remotest corner of the country. Mrs. Besant was already interned under the Defence Act. The Home Rule idea was spreading like wild fire. "The strength of the Home Rule movement was rendered ten-fold greater" as Mrs. Besant herself pointed out in her presidential address of Calcutta in 1917, "by the addition to it of a large number of women who had

brought to it the heroism, the endurance, the self-sacrifice of the feminine nature." With the internment of the leaders of the Home Rule League, it became more popular. If the feelings of the general public were roused by the internment of these leaders, the Mussalmans had an equal cause to feel dissatisfied with the actions of the Government in confining Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and others.

The joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League was convened in July 1917. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the League, had made no secret of his views in a speech delivered at Bombay Provincial Congress when he said: "To those who know India and understand India, it is clear that she no longer will merely obey but wants to manage her own affairs; peace, prosperity and security which satisfied a decade ago, are no longer enough." The soul of Young India had been aroused. Mr. Jinnah on the same occasion remarked: "It is universally recognised that if you deprive a nation of all share in its own government in the forging of its destiny, you emasculate its energies, undermine its character and sear as if with a hot iron its self-respect. In the sphere of intellect such a government spells, not progress but decay." He lost no time in appealing again and again to the Mussalmans and the Hindus to stand "united and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect that transfer as soon as possible." On the question of separate electorates, Mr. Jinnah had

made the Muslim position clear by saying:

> To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand the demand for Separate Electorate is not a matter of policy but a matter of interest to the Mohammadans who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long.

It is unfortunate that at such a time the Hindu Mahasabha in its deliberation in Lucknow should have adopted a very hostile attitude repudiating the claims of the Congress to speak on behalf of the Hindus and adopting a very narrow attitude towards the demands of the Mussalmans for separate electorates. It is an irony of fate that in the Mahasabha Session those very Hindus opposed tooth and nail the demand for separate electorate who had readily acquiesced in the Congress Session. Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Hindus in solemn and dignified words:

> In the present state of position they should try to win the confidence and trust of the Mohammadans, who are after all in the minority in the country. If they are determined to have separate electorates, no resistance should be shown to their demand.

Events were moving rapidly and for the time being it seemed that the League and the Congress though in body different were one in soul. A joint meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League and the All India Congress Committee was held in Bombay on the 27th and 28th of July

1917. It was decided to send a deputation on the advice of Sir William Wedderburn consisting of the members of the Congress and of the League. Strong resentment was expressed over the various orders of the Governments of Bengal and Madras. It was also resolved that a petition to Parliament be submitted in support of the scheme of reform adopted by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. A strong protest on behalf of the Congress and the League was sent to the Secretary of State on the internment of Mrs. Besant and two of her co-workers and grave concern was expressed over the situation in the country. It was also decided that in conjunction with the Home Rule League, the Indian National Congress with the Muslim League, should carry on an educative propaganda throughout the year on law-abiding and constitutional lines. They, therefore, demanded, that an authoritative pronouncement be made, pleading the Imperial Government in unequivocal terms to the policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire and enjoining the agents and servants of the Crown in India to make honest and strenuous efforts to achieve the end in view at an early date. On August 20th, 1917, the Secretary of State for India made the following announcement in the House of Commons:

> The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual develop-

ment of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.

I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.

After the pronouncement of the 20th August and the announcement of the visit of the Secretary of State of India, opinions were divided. There were some who had not altogether lost faith in British pledges and promises. There were those wavering with doubts and misgivings and above all an increduality was evinced amongst the most

sceptical. The declaration of Mr. Montague to visit India was dramatic in its character and bewildering in its novelty. It was undoubtedly a departure from the old policy and even the sceptics began to feel that there was a Secretary of State who had other qualifications than mere speech-making. A number of mushroom political organisations grew up all over India and arrogated to themselves the high privilege of suggesting schemes of reform for the future Government of India. The Muslim League and the Congress Committees had jointly decided on the 6th of October 1917, to wait in the form of a deputation on the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy. The Congress-Muslim League scheme was widely accepted by influential meetings of Mohammadans who had expressed their strong desire for representation on subject of its special needs in respect of future constitutional reforms who also welcomed the proposal to send an All India Muslim deputation to the Secretary of State with reference to the following matter which the meeting of the League afterwards approved.

The League very strongly repudiated all the charges and allegations which were officially made against Maulana Mohammad Ali. The Muslim League was also faced with a grave situation in the Punjab wherein, Mian Mohammad Shafee had definitely shown a hostile attitude towards the Muslim League which resulted in the disaffiliation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Then there was likelihood of another split coming into

existence on the question of the memorandum prepared on behalf of the joint deputation of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. There were certain points with which the Muslim League did not agree and considered them as a negation of the spirit of the scheme and decided that if any suggestions or alterations in the Report are deleted or incorporated as the case may be, in the final draft of the memorandum, then in that case the All India Muslim League was to dissociate itself from it. Happily the fears of the Muslims were allayed and once again the Congress members apparently showed a spirit of accommodation. The Secretary of State arrived in India on November 10, 1917, and the carefully chalked out programme by the Government of India was observed and the invitations issued were strictly followed. Mr. Montague in his diary has given a graphic account of the various deputations. On November 19th an imposing deputation of the Maulvis waited upon him.

The Congress and the League waited jointly in the form of a deputation on the Secretary of State on the 26th November. Mr. Montague gives a rather interesting account which throws much light on the subject:

> We were face to face now with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not these dupes and adherents from the Provinces, but we had here a collection of the first-class politicians of the various Provinces. Old Surendranath Banerjea, the veteran from Bengal, read the address, which was beautifully written and

beautifully read. There was Mudholkar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay, Mazhar-ul-Haq and Hassan Imam from Bihar and Orissa, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Kesava Pillai, and so on. All the brains of the movement were there. But the difficulty is, as I have so often said that owing to the thinness with which we have spread education, they have run generations away from the rest of India, and, whatever might be done in theory, in practice this would be only another and indigenous autocracy.

The Congress and Muslim League were followed by the Punjab Provincial Congress, with a shorter but good address, and then Mrs. Besant and the great Tilak came with their Home Rule League, and read us a more extreme and a bitter address, but one which was undoubtedly interesting and good. Of course, the Home Rule League's demands are the same as the Congress's, the Home Rule League really having been started to do the propaganda for the rather old-fashioned Congress. Mrs. Besant told me that she found that Congress held its meetings nearby Christmas each year, and between whiles went to sleep. It is her activity and her League which has really stirred the country up into a condition in which it is no longer true to say that political interest is confined to the educated classes. They are all seething with a desire for some change. Mrs. Besant, in her white and gold embroidered Indian clothes, with her short, white hair, and the most beautiful voice I have ever heard, was very impressive, and read magnificently. Again a casket was presented this time, quite an attractive object, an elephant tusk.

The rest of the day was spent in interviews. First came Surendranath Banerjea and Mudholkar. Banerjea was loquacity itself, garrulous, sedulous, but there was no sign of moderation or compromise in him. The Congress Scheme was the least he would accept. This Scheme really in its essence excludes naval and military matters but on all matters of internal administration

makes the irremovable Executive responsible to an elected majority on the Councils, and gives them the power of the purse, so that it is practically responsible government at one fell swoop. They would hear of no alternative.

They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics, and insistent upon the dole of his scheme. All its short-comings, all its drawbacks, the elected members of the Executive Council, the power of the minority to hold up legislation, the complete control of the Executive in all matters of finance—all these were defended as the best makeshifts they could devise short of responsible government. Nothing else would satisfy them. They would rather have nothing if they could not get the whole lot. I was rather tired and I funked him. Chelmsford tried to argue with him, and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.

Afterwards we saw the renowned Gandhi. He is a social reformer; he has a real desire to find grievances and to cure them, not for any reasons of self-advertisement, but to improve the conditions of his fellow men. He is the real hero of the settlement of the Indian question in South Africa, where he suffered imprisonment. He has just been helping the Government to find a solution for the grievances of the indigo labour in Bihar. He dresses like a coolie, forswears all personal advancement, lives practically on the air, and is a pure visionary. He does not understand details of schemes; all he wants is that we should get India on our side. He wants the millions of India to leap to the assistance of the British throne. In fact, I may say here that, revolutionary or not, loathing or not as they may do the Indian Civil Service, none of these Indians shows any sign of wanting to be removed from connection with the British throne.

In Mr. Montague's discussion about separate electorate with the deputation of Hindu Mahasabha the abolition of communal representation was suggested, for it served to accentuate and exasperate the feelings between Hinduism and Mohammadanism. But he replied to them "Of course that has come true but to suggest that we could get rid of it now seems to me to be impossible. We are pledged up to the hilt, and we would have a rising of the Mohammadans if we did." As mentioned earlier, the desire to meet the Secretary of State, was so intense that various Mussalmans formed certain associations and presented their own schemes. One of such organisations is mentioned by Mr. Montague, and he says: "The Muslim Association pretends to be more conservative than the Muslim League but submitted an appendix to its suggestions which was really just as extreme. They were very nice people, and explained that we were to take no notice of the appendix which really did not represent their views." All sincere Mussalmans would even to-day take a lesson from that hopeless spectacle which some misguided and selfish Mussalmans presented on that occasion. Mr. Montague's diary is very instructive to study the condition of certain type of Muslims, wherein he says:

> Then followed the Muslim League and of course after that the non-Muslim League Muslims. Each said that the other was non-representative, each said that the other ought to be disregarded and ignored. Then came the Ullemas of Madras who summed up their policy in answer to His Excellency's question, 'can you

> tell your view surely to the Secretary of State and myself?' By saying 'we do not want' Home Rule. Then a delightful old man with a beautiful beard and a fine profile, told us that he had studied the Quran and all the commentaries, the Bible and the holy books and he could find no sanction for the Congress-Muslim League scheme in them.

Any well-wisher can himself conclude the impression which such a division created on the minds of the British Statesmen. To justify their action, these so-called Muslim leaders began to say that by accepting the League-Congress scheme, the Muslim League imperilled the interest of the Mussalmans and betrayed the trust which had been implicitly laid by the Mussalmans, without showing sufficient reasons for their contention. It was also alleged that in providing for the representation of the Mussalmans in the various Legislative Councils in the Reform Scheme, the Mussalmans were put in a position of numerical inferiority, and if such position be accepted, the Mussalmans would remain at the mercy of a predominantly Hindu majority, while the fact was that the majority of the Mussalmans in the Punjab was maintained and in all other provinces except Bengal. But this position was taken up after very careful thought and anxious deliberations as a compromise to that hostile attitude which the Hindu leaders always adopted towards separate representation. The Mussalmans had to make strenuous efforts to get this principle accepted, as a guarantee that this principle of separate representation would be adhered to, having

regard to the persistent agitation against separate electorate, the Mussalmans thought it wise to compromise on certain issues, lest they may be placed in an awkward position by the withdrawal of this privilege, and thus saved themselves from living perpetually at the mercy of the caprices or the whims of British politicians. The League made it a condition and the Congress was forced to accept it. The alternate course of formulating a scheme independently of the Congress and demanding a lion's share in it had little chance of serious consideration for experience had shown that left solely and entirely in the hands of the authorities, Muslim interests have very seldom been advanced. The Muslim League leaders, therefore, thought that to leave the question of separate representation within the pale of controversy, would be extremely risky and accordingly thought it prudent to clinch the matter and come to definite understanding between the various communities of India. To save themselves from that position, wherein Indians would have been placed in the hands of a third party, Mussalmans thought it best and wiser to leave no chance for arbitration at all and to that end, they were prepared to make every sacrifice. Answering those critics who were vehementally opposed to the Congress-League scheme, Mr. Abdul-Latif Ahmad Zakarya, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the League Session in Calcutta said:

> It is said that even with this excessive representation, Mohammadans are in a minority in all these Provinces, but our critics forget that there is a world of differ-

ence between a minority whose votes can effectively turn the scale on an important question, and a minority which is so insignificant as to be capable of being ignored and left out of calculations altogether. It is in Bengal that the acceptance of a representation of 40 per cent has been most strongly criticised and the Congress-League scheme denounced in the strongest terms. Let us examine the position very briefly. It is provided that the Mussalmans will have a representation of 40 per cent of the total number of Indian members, and when we remember that the remaining 60 per cent would consist not merely of Hindus, but various other communities as well as the representatives of special interest such as Municipalities, District Boards, Universities, Landholders, Trade and Commerce, I doubt very much whether the Hindus themselves will have a representation of more than 40 per cent. Besides there will be the Anglo-Indians and the whole body of officials in order to keep the balance even between contending communities, if perchance the expanded councils become the scenes of petty strife and party factions rather than trusted repositories of our national interests, I cannot conceive of Mohammadan interests being ever imperilled, except on the supposition of a combination of all the other elements in the Councils against them. This, gentlemen, is a contingency which can hardly arise; and if it ever did arise, I should be disposed to think that the Mussalmans were in error on that particular question, and a defeat under such circumstances can hardly be a matter of much concern. We claim that under the Congress-League scheme, even the apparent slightly inadequate representation of Mohammadans in Bengal can never be of real risk to the interests of the community, and a little reflection will show that all apprehensions on this score are wholly unfounded.

Mr. Zakarya paid a very high tribute to the League when he said:

> Far from the Congress having captured the League, the members of the Muslim League might as well claim that the League has captured the Congress, we claim that it's a great triumph for such a young organisation like the Muslim League and it is a matter of very great regret that the community has not yet acknowledged or fully appreciated the achievement of the Muslim League in this direction.

The League Session which was held in Calcutta was to be presided over by Maulana Mohammad Ali who was interned in Jail under the Defence Act. More than 30,000 (thirty thousand) telegrams were sent praying the Government to release him. People were resenting this attitude of the Government and there was real sympathy for these victims of bureaucratic high-handedness and unjustifiable tyranny. The chair of the President was kept vacant, and Raja Mohd. Ali Khan Saheb of Mahmudabad as a permanent president of the League, conducted the deliberations, paid a most glowing tribute to the elected president, and vehemently criticised the policy of the Government and showed how the people were feeling the weight of the Defence of India Act under which "persons who could by no stretch of imagination be suspected of any offence in connection with the War and the whole tenor of whose lives revealed in the constitutional and open efforts for the public weal, have been deprived of their liberty of person, of movement and of expression." Raja Saheb speaking on the Congress-League scheme said:

The principle of separate and adequate representation of the Mussalmans was for the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress, acknowledged and incorporated; and further safe-guarded the far reaching effects of which cannot be exaggerated in the scheme. It provided that no Bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with if two-thirds of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial oppose the Bill, or any clause thereof, or the resolution.

Gentlemen, in your behalf I affirm here our complete adherence to that scheme, which is the irreducible minimum of our demands. Here I may say that the bed-rock of our demands in relation to our communal interests is as firm today as it was in 1906. And therefore in any scheme of constitutional reform in the Government of this country,—this cardinal fact should not in our opinion be lost sight of.

The separate representation of the Indian Mussalman in the Legislative Councils, has admittedly been conducive to better relations between the two communities of India. It has contributed to the contentment of Mohammadans in as much as it has softened if not altogether eliminated the galling sense of unmerited importance in influencing Indian policy from the minds of the community which by reason of its number, its position and its importance, felt that it could not justifiably resign itself to the inevitable lot of hopeless and therefore dejected minority.

On the other side, the inter-communal strife which had subsided for some time had once again embittered the feelings between the two peoples. The beginning of Hindu-Muslim riots dates back

from the closing period of the 19th century. These riots occurred for the simple fact that the masses were ignorant, uneducated and such clashes were frequent because more or less of a religious nature. We have already seen that the activities of Mr. Tilak, his establishment of Anti-Cow-Killing Societies and his influence over the Hindus had made the Hindus aggressive and widened the gulf which existed between the two. During the days of the Anti-Partition Movement, Hindus by similar activities had alienated the sympathies of the Muslims instead of trying to conciliate them. Serious riots had broken out in 1914 at Muzaffarnagar and other places. In December 1918 a serious riot had broken out at Kitarpore. The silence of Hindu leaders at this juncture and of some who definitely sided with the Hindu compatriots, created some bad blood. Inhuman atrocities were committed by the Hindus. To understand more clearly the history of these riots, it would not be out of place to quote the observations of Sir Lovett when he says: "The story of the Arrah riots should be clearly understood by those who wish to form an idea of the emergencies for which Government in India must always be prepared."

The League considered these riots as a great blow to the national struggle and considered it as the greatest disservice to the national cause. Fortunately the Mussalmans as a community kept their heads cool and met the situation with the utmost sanity, moderation and sobriety. There can be no doubt that these riots tended to scare away Mussal-

mans from sympathising with the agitation for the constitutional reforms and had a marked effect in weaning away a large number of enthusiasts from active participation, in the cause of reforms and as Mr. Zakarya says: "The most regrettable part of the whole affair has been the attitude of the Hindu leaders in adopting a policy of laissez faire in this matter and practically refraining from denouncing the authors of these horrible crimes in the name of humanity itself if nothing less." The League passed a strongly worded resolution which showed the sentiments of the Mussalmans on such an occasion. The resolution ran thus:

> That the All India Muslim League expresses its indignation at the failure of the Criminal Investigation Department to obtain timely information of the huge organisation set on foot by a large section of the Hindu population in the districts of Arrah, Gaya and Patna to plunder the houses of the Mussalmans, defile and destroy mosques and the holy Quran and commit other excesses and refuses to believe that the stupendous anti-cow-killing movement could have been organised without the help and co-operation of a number of Hindu members of the force. This meeting also expresses its deep regret at the weakness shown by the authorities in facing the situation and their omission to adopt drastic measures against the rioters who carried on the pillage from village to village and is of opinion that by having recourse to strong measures at the outset the spread of the trouble could have been avoided.

Yet it is patent fact that in spite of these provocations, in spite of these insults and in spite of all this humiliation, the Mussalmans were prepared to

face such onslaughts for the sake of a greater united India. They knew the value of sacrifice and they thought that probably by this they might capture the heart and the goodwill of their Hindu brethren. But the Hindus mistook it for weakness, misunderstood their actions and missed a golden opportunity for putting on a permanent footing Hindu-Muslim relations. Mr. Montague had finished his task and had prepared a scheme after great deliberation and discussions, prominent among those who helped Mr. Montague in formulating his proposals were Meston and Curtis. The recommendations of the Reform Scheme were published in the report submitted to the Parliament.

After the publication of this Report there was a storm of disapproval, for it had fallen short of the great expectations which Indians had reposed in it and they considered it as a betrayal of trust.

CHAPTER X

THE KHILAFAT AND NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT—THE FAILURE OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The Montague-Chelmsford report fell short of the expectations of the Indians as a result of which feelings were roused and events of great magnitude occurred. The policy of the government has always remained one of conciliation followed by repression and intimidation. The Reforms of 1909 were followed by the passing of the Press Act and other repressive measures. The Montague-Chelmsford reforms were issued in a like atmosphere. It is a pity that the Government, both at Home and in India, showed considerable lack of statesmanship. There were undoubtedly people as there would always be, who welcomed the proposals of the Government, but such people were more guided by personal considerations than national interests. The Congress in its special session reaffirmed the principle of reform contained in the Congress-League scheme. As regards Communal representation the Congress, "resolved that the proportion of Muslims in the Indian and Provincial legislatures, should be as laid down in the Congress-League scheme."

The session of the Muslim League was held at Bombay under the presidentship of its permanent President the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad. Regarding the criticism which the authors of the Report made on the joint scheme, the president said, "but to disqualify the whole scheme in the manner in which I am constrained to say Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montague have done is calculated to create, if it has not already created, the impression that these statesmen embarked on their work of investigation with a not altogether unbiassed mind against the scheme,......the publication of the Report as a result of this visit has plunged the whole country in a state of intense excitement. It has stimulated thought and provoked keen controversy. The question is being hotly debated as to whether it should be accepted by the country or not, whether or not the proposals it contains satisfy the aspirations and the expectations raised by the announcement itself, whether in one word they constitute a substantial step towards the realisation of responsible government. That they have caused disappointment in our minds, cannot and need not be denied. They have fallen short of natural and legitimate expectations." Answering the authors of the Report about their criticism of separate representation, Raja Saheb said:

> The Montague-Chemsford report however fails to grasp the significance of the settlement............... I may remark that having regard to the dissatisfaction already engendered by the attitude disclosed in the

> Report in regard to this matter, there cannot be any doubt that the Mussalmans any less than their Hindu brethren will agree to anything less than the restoration of the settlement in any bill that may be in contemplation. It is my duty knowing as I do the intensity of Muslim feeling on this question to sound the note of warning and of appeal.

While the Mussalmans as a whole and the Congress leaders were condemning the government proposals, there grew up a party of moderates supporting the proposals of the government. No less surprising was the attitude taken up by Surendranath Banerjee who was for a considerable period of time an undisputed leader of Hindu community and exercised a great influence in the Congress. The Congress President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia criticised the whole scheme in his address and very clearly said that though:

> We have owed allegiance to the sovereign of England, we stand unshaken in that allegiance......there is, however, the second and no less important respect of self-determination namely that being under the British Crown, we should be allowed complete responsible government on the lines of the dominions.

Before the bill could be moved for the first reading, the franchise, the division of functions, and the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects were to be settled. For this purpose two commissions were appointed. The Southbrough Commission was appointed to deal with a delicate question of franchise, and Feathems Commission to deal with functions. The South-

brough Commission submitted its report to the Government of India and finally settled the question of communal representation. The report says:

> The Joint Report (paragraphs 231 and 232) recognises the necessity for the communal representation of Muhammadans in provinces where they do not form a majority of electors. The evidence received by us and the opinions of local governments concerned were almost unanimous in favour of this course. In all provinces, except Bengal and the Punjab, Muhammadans are in a minority as regards both population and electors. In Bengal and the Punjab, where Muhammadans form a majority of the population, our rough estimates show that they form a minority of electors. There was very general agreement in favour of communal representation for Muhammadans in those provinces as well as in the rest of India, and the local governments urged the same step. Both Hindus and Muhammadans are thus in substantial agreement that the latter should everywhere enjoy communal electorates, and we have no hesitation in recommending that effect should be given to this common desire. We have consequently provided for the preparation of separate Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan electoral rolls, and for separate Muhammadan constituencies. In allocating the proportion of Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan seats, we have been generally urged to follow the agreement reached by the political representatives of the two parties at the joint session of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League held at Lucknow in December 1916, referred to in paragraph 163 of the Joint Report, under which certain proportions were fixed for the amount of Muhammadan representation in the provincial and imperial legislative councils. The great majority of Indian witnesses and the representatives of associations, political and non-political alike, not exclud-

ing those in which Hindu interests preponderate, adhered to this compact, and it seems to us that any departure from its terms would revive in an aggravated form a controversy which it has done much to compose. In the provinces of Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa, the local governments recommended us to adhere to the compact, whilst the Madras government provided in the first of its alternative schemes approximately the proportion of Muhammadan representation which the compact fixed. In the interests of India as a whole, we have, therefore, felt ourselves amply justified in accepting the compact as a guide in allocating the proportion of Muhammadan representation in the councils.

As a result of recommendation of the Commission the Sikhs' demand in the Punjab for separate representation was also conceded.

Mr. Gandhi who was now a factor to be counted in politics expressed his own opinion on the Reforms in his paper "*Young India*" and said:

The reforms are undoubtedly incomplete. They do not give us enough. We were entitled to more. We could manage more but the reforms are not such as we may reject. On the contrary they are such as to enable us to expand. Our duty, therefore, is not to subject them to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a thorough success.

A royal proclamation was issued giving amnesty to all the political prisoners and appealing to the Indian people to work out the reforms in a spirit of goodwill. Mr. Gandhi said: "The Reform Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to

India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score." But Indian people were not concerned with the reforms only. The Rowlatt Bill had hurt their self-respect. The contents of the said bill showed for the first time that Government wanted to usurp all powers and curtail civil liberties of the Indians. Indignation was expressed at the measure everywhere.

The Muslim League condemned the measure as derogatory and insulting to the Indians. At this stage Dr. Ansari also warned the Government that the Mussalmans would not allow for a single minute either the government or the Hindus to shift the grounds and make any changes in the right of separate representation. The exclusion of the Muslim members from the Imperial Conference was also deprecated. In view of the fact that important matters which were concerned more with the future of the Muslims were sure to be discussed, it was clear that a non-muslim could not speak with that force and conviction on purely Muslim question as a Mussalman can do. There was much criticism by the Hindus for this demand of the Muslims. Addressing such critics who took pleasure in an irresponsible fashion to misrepresent Muslims, Dr. Ansari said, that he was constrained to note that some of his friends have said that any "Indian Mussalman is prepared to give the whole country of India for the sake of one inch of the ground of Gallipoli." He challenged his Hindu compatriots to point out a single instance wherein the Indian Mussalmans have not stood side by side

with them. He made it clear that a true Muslim would also remain a true Indian. If they showed their sympathy with Turkey and Iran they at the same time, when the question of India was concerned, stood by their Motherland.

This unfortunate country of India has always remained a battle-ground for the contending parties. The Hindu-Muslims clashes are a stigma on the fair name of the country. While serious efforts for harmonious relations between Hindus and Muslims were being made some untoward incidents had already happened at Katarpore and Arrah. The aggressive attitude of the Hindus had newly awakened the Mussalmans to the realities of Indian Political life. Dr Ansari condemned this attitude of the Hindus while advising the Mussalmans to remain calm. We have already seen that over the Rowlatt Bill, the Hindus and Muslims rubbed shoulders on account of the common injury inflicted. But the real trouble was yet to come. The British government never sticks to its solemn pledges. Its policy always changes according to the exigencies of the moment. In their diplomacy, they are concerned only with the interest of their own country. They had not realised that the Mussalmans in India are a living force to be counted, that they could not allow the Home Government to back out and throw its promises to the winds, that the Mussalmans knew how to make sacrifices and suffer for a noble cause. Before dealing, however, with this question which engaged the entire attention of the Mussalmans, and which in its result brought untold misery,

and hardship to the many families of the Muslims, for saving the Turkish Empire, it is necessary that we deal with two other important happenings in our own country, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and the Mopla outbreak.

The memory of both still is heart-rending. A large public meeting was advertised and held in the Jallianwala Bagh in an open ground in the midst of the city with a view to protest against government measures. At a time when there was an assemblage of more than twenty thousand people, men, women and children gathered there, General Dyer entered the place at the head of a force composed of hundred Indian troops and fifty British. He ordered the people to disperse immediately and started firing within two or three minutes of the order. Sixteen-hundred rounds were fired and the firing stopped only when the ammunition was consumed. A great tragedy thus took place in Amritsar. The city presented a ghastly spectacle for many days . The voice of the Indians was raised in protest against this and as Mr. Jinnah in 1920 pointed out:

> That Star Chamber legislation named after the notorious Chairman of the Rowlatt committee was launched by the government of Lord Chemsford and it resulted in the 'celebrated crimes' which neither the words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. 'An error of judgment they call it.' If that is the last word, I agree with them, an error of judgment it is, and they shall have to pay for it if not to-day then tomorrow. One thing there is which is indisputable and that is this government must go and give place to complete responsi-

ble government. Meetings of the Congress and Muslim League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval put forward to the Secretary of State for India and we shall surely find a way even as France and Italy had and the new born Egypt has.

The Khilafat

During the Great War, Indian Mussalmans had expressed their uneasiness as to the outcome of policy of Britain towards Turkey. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George had declared on January 5th, 1918, in which among other things he had assured the Mussalmans that the British Government would not pursue a vindictive policy and had no intention of depriving the Turks of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish. At the end of the War, however, signs were not wanting to show that the Allies who claimed to have fought for justice and righteousness, were aiming at nothing less than the complete dismemberment of Turkey. The Indian Muslims felt that if such a thing was allowed to take place then the Turks would cease to exist as an independent state, that the Sultan of Turkey would be deprived of his territories in Europe and in Asia and the holy places of Islam would soon pass into the non-Muslim hands. The fear of this approaching calamity produced a blaze of resentment among every section of the Muslim community. Not being in a position to raise their arms against the government, they could only protest so as to force the hands of

the British Government to accede to the demands of the Mussalmans which insisted on redeeming their pledges which they had given on their honour. Mr. Fãzlul Haque, as the President of the League session, reminded British statesmen of the promises given to the Indian Mussalmans. He further deprecated that after ruining Indian's material prosperity and draining away all the available wealth out of the country by the system of administration, the British were trying to crush the Muslims all over the world. He concluded:

> I will not, therefore, be surprised if they take this opportunity finally to dispose of Turkey and her problems in Europe, and herein lies food for the amplest reflection. As the years roll on, the position of the Mussalmans in India becomes more and more critical, and demands our most anxious thought and care. In my humble opinion we should invoke divine help and guidance in all sincerity and meekness of heart; above all, we should renounce any lurking spirit of strife and quarrel with other communities, and seek their help and assistance in our troubles and difficulties.

Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the president of the Congress showed his genuine sympathy with the cause of the Muslims and assured them of his whole-hearted co-operation in the hour of trial.

The Mussalmans through the Muslim League had already made a representation to the British Government for the inclusion of a Muslim representative at the Imperial War Conference and they insisted on it owing to the fact that the question of Khilafat, being purely a Muslim concern, ought

to be decided by Muslims without interference. The demand of the Muslims for a seat on the Imperial Conference was emphatically refused on the plea that there had been no deviation on the part of His Majesty's Government from the pledges given regarding Muslim holy places. The unwillingness on the part of the British Government increased the apprehensions, and doubts were entertained as regards a secret treaty for the partition of Turkey. The London League took up this matter and a deputation waited on 14th July, 1919, on the Secretary of State for India.

About the middle of 1920 as Subhas Chandra Bose in his book, *Indian Struggle*, admits that the "anti-British feeling was stronger amongst the Mussalmans than amongst the rest of the Indian population." Mr. Montague had been able to divide the nationalist forces but he had failed to win over any section of the Muslims though he had left no stone unturned in his efforts to placate them. In the meantime the All India Khilafat Conference was set up with a view to launch a campaign in support of the Khilafat.

Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who were released after their internment took up this question and were hailed by all sections of the Mussalmans as the fittest persons for the cause for which they had suffered so long. A special session of the League was convened in Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah who had now become the permanent President of the League after the resignation of Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad. In

his address he said:

> We have met here principally to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since the signing of the Armistice. First came the Rowlatt Bill—accompanied by the Punjab atrocities—and then came the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire (cries of shame) and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our faith. Now, every country has two principal and vital functions to perform—one to assert its voice in the international policy, and the other to maintain internally the highest ideals of justice and humanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands (hear, hear) to carry it on to one's own satisfaction. As we stand in matters international, India's voice is represented through His Majesty the King of England's Government, although nominally we happened to have two Indians who were supposed to represent us, but they were neither the chosen nor the accredited representatives of India. The result was that notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the Mussalmans, and in breach of the Prime Minister's solemn pledges, unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey (shame) and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England (applause) to represent India in matters international.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi had expressed his sympathies with the Muslim cause and his willingness to side with them. The strength of the working agreement between Mr. Gandhi and the Mussalmans had become more than ever apparent. In

fact each party to the alliance was in need of the assistance of the other. Explaining his position, Mr. Gandhi in his *Young India* said:

> On the Khilafat question I refuse to be party to a broken pledge. Mr. Lloyd George's solemn declaration is practically the whole of the case for Indian Mohammedans, and when that case is fortified by scriptural authority it becomes un-answerable. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that I have allied myself to one of the prevailing anarchies "or that I have wrongly countenanced the movement" to place the cruel and unjust despotism of of the Stamboul Government above the interests of humanity.

Mr. Gandhi advocating for an unconditional co-operation with the Mussalmans on this issue had not forgotten his dear cow which he considered to be the bone of contention between the Hindus and the Muslims and had remarked "though, therefore, I yield to no Hindu in my worship of the cow, I do not want to make the stopping of cow-killing a condition precedent to co-operation. Unconditional co-operation means the protection of the cow." The memories of Crusades were revived in England as a counterpoise of the Khilafat agitation. The Muslims were convinced that in their scheme, the British statesmen had displayed the inherent prejudice and hatred which they entertained against the Mussalmans. While the Khilafat question was engaging the attention of all, there were dissensions in the rank and file of the Congress itself. The charm of office had captured the imagination of some. The Indian politicians

were keenly divided in their views. In Amritsar Malavia and Gandhi wanted to work the reforms "on the basis of offering co-operation in the measure in which government co-operated with the people." Mr. C. R. Das was for rejecting the scheme. The result of this all was a definite cleavage between the contending parties. A few months after the Amritsar session, the position was reversed. Gandhi now stood for Non-co-operation and those opposed to Non-co-operation were ranged against his school of thought. This was due to the Khilafat trouble. In the middle of January 1920, Mr. Mohammad Ali issued along with his brother a long manifesto to the country pointing out the future course of action. But before matters came to a head, a deputation waited on the Viceroy in January 1920 headed by Dr. Ansari emphasising the "necessity for the preservation of the Turkish Empire and of the sovereignty of the Sultan as Khalifa." The Viceroy's reply to the deputation was disappointing and the Muslim leaders issued a statement regarding their firm conviction that "should the peace terms result unfavourable to Muslim religion and sentiments they would place an undue strain upon Muslim loyalty." Lord Chelmsford had emphasised that the question was not alone to be decided by Great Britain. By this time the militant tone of certain section of the French, English and American press regarding the desirability of settling the Eastern question once for all strengthened the fears long nurtured by the Mussalmans that the Christian powers were out to annihilate and reduce the

power of the Turks to the status of a fourth rate power. We have seen that the Muslim League presented addresses of protest in London to which Lloyd George's reply was not at all satisfactory. His insistence on the fact that the question of Turkey could not be treated on different lines and principles from those that were applied to Christian countries and his assertion of the doctrine that while Turkey was to be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish land, she was not to be permitted to retain its hold over those which were not Turkish, this assertion struck at the root of the whole Khilafat sentiment in India. A day of national mourning, fasting and prayers and *Hartal* was fixed. Mr. Gandhi announced his intention of leading a Non-co-operation movement in case the demands of the Mussalmans were not met. Maulana Shaukat Ali had already expressed the view that in case their demands were not acceded to, Muslims would be forced to sever their loyal connection with the British throne. While the deputation on behalf of the Muslim League was still in Europe, the proposed terms of peace with Turkey were made public. The Viceroy recognised that the terms were sure to cause sore pain to the Muslims of India and appealed to them to bear with patience and resignation the misfortune of their Turkish co-religionists. The Khilafat committee met at Bombay and found no other alternative but to adopt Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme.

Regarding this programme Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address of the League in 1920 said, "that Mr. Gandhi

has placed his programme of non-co-operation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle, and approving of its principle whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances (no, no, never).

In the meanwhile there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Mussalmans, and regrets Mahatma Gandhi's "foolish of all foolish schemes" (shame) being fortified with a "charter" from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent Despatch from "Home." This is the "changed angle of vision" on which we heard such high sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood, India's gold was sought and unfortunately given, given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt Legislation.

One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom (applause).

The unsatisfactory character of the "Reforms" evolved by the timidity of Mr. Montague and the prejudice of Lord Chelmsford marred by its own Rules and Regulations, and worked under the influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government, offers us "license for liberty, and license does not compensate for liberty," and if I may quote here words of a well-known author, this is what he says "license for liberty and license does not compensate for liberty." We may have Indians as Lieutenant Governors and Governors and for the matter of that

Viceroys. That is license but that is not liberty (hear, hear). What we want is true political freedom of the people and no posts and positions in Government.

Mr. Jinnah then vehemently criticised the report of the Hunter committee which was appointed to enquire into the Jallianwala Bagh incident.

The Muslims were determined to have their way. Mr. Gandhi was now at the head of the movement. He had already led a campaign of passive resistance against the Rowlatt Bill and now in the atmosphere of excited passion, Mr. Gandhi launched his movement of Non-co-operation. A boycott of Law-courts, foreign-goods, government services, educational institutions was pleaded. Mr. Gandhi by his services in South Africa, by the stress he constantly laid upon the inherent perfection of the caste system had already acquired among his Hindu co-religionists that mantle of authority with which India traditionally loves to envelop the saint.

Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and ended in accomplishing what the small Pan-Islamic section of Indian Mussalmans had long attempted, with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shia as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause. The seriousness of this movement did not escape the notice of the authorities, who did all that was humanly possible to allay the rising tide of religious feeling. But the extreme Pan-Islamic views of the leaders, combined with the

unpopularity of Government consequent upon the repression of the Punjab disorders, to render all these efforts nugatory. In vain did the Government of India express its sympathy for the sentiment of the Muslims: in vain did it assure them that it was pressing their views upon His Majesty's Government. They had no desire to listen to such a reason: the restoration of Turkey to her full pre-war status; the re-imposition of her yoke over the emancipated Arabs and Armenians; the rendition of Palestine, Syria, Thrace, and the Dardanelles —these were some of the demands put forward with the unarguable finality of an ultimatum.

Such was the situation of which Mr. Gandhi took advantage. Whether he saw in the Khilafat movement and seized upon a lever for the overthrow of "civilised" society—as is maintained by certain of those who are most conscious of the ruin he has wrought to India: whether his own philosophic idealism hailed a kindred spirit in the uncompromising, reason-proof dogmatism of the Khilafat extremists: or whether his undoubted passion for Hindu-Muslim unity led him to embrace, as he himself said "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Mohammadans as would not arise in a hundred years," may well be a matter for dispute.

It was in the Khilafat Conference of Delhi in November 1919, that Mr. Gandhi first proposed his non-co-operative remedy for the "Khilafat wrong." Here he suggested that if the British Government and the Government of India remained deaf to the representations of those Indian Muslims who

desired the restoration of the Ottoman Empire to its political and religious status, it might be necessary for all Indians whether Hindus or Mohammadans, to sever their connection with a power so deaf to the claims of things spiritual. A month later, with strange inconsistency, Mr. Gandhi spoke at the Amritsar Congress, in favour of working the new Constitution foreshadowed in the Government of India Act 1919. But this phase did not last long. To the consternation of many of his co-religionists, he struck up a working alliance with Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali after their release. He renounced his adhesion to the Reforms, set himself seriously to execute his long-deferred project of applying Non-co-operation to India, and placed in the fore-front of his aims, not the winning of Swaraj—whether of his own or of any other type—but the satisfaction of Muslim opinion in the matter of the Khilafat.

Between January and March 1920, the scheme for Non-co-operation campaign was explained in the columns of Mr. Gandhi's organ, "*Young India*." A month later, the programme had acquired a certain maturity. Subject to the overmastering consideration of Non-violence, Mr. Gandhi advocated incessant agitation in carrying out certain prescribed activities. There was to be a complete cessation of business on the 19th March 1920, which was to be observed as a day of national mourning on behalf of Turkey. Persons holding high office in the government were to resign as a protest against the injustice done to Mohammadan feelings. On

the other hand, Mr. Gandhi denounced the idea of boycotting British goods—since boycott was, he said, a form of violence—and he declared that no appeal should be made to soldiers or policemen to resign from Government service. Two months later, he fixed four progressive stages for the execution of the Non-co-operation Campaign; the first was to be the resignation of titles and honorary offices; the second, the withdrawal from all Government service save Police and Military; the third, the withdrawal from the Police and the Military; the fourth, the suspension of payment of taxes to the State. Now in June 1920, it would seem, Mr. Gandhi became conscious that his projected movement was likely to lose part of its support owing to the exclusively Mussalman complexion which he had assigned to its goal. Accordingly he extended its scope to cover, in addition to the satisfaction of Muslim opinion the Khilafat question the satisfaction of Hindu opinion in the matter of the Punjab. Almost simultaneously with the publication of the programme in July 1920, the aim of the Non-co-operation movement was extended to cover Swaraj. To this word as Mr. Gandhi plainly said once, he attached no special value. Various interpretations were given to it. To some it represented Mr. Gandhi's own ideal of the government of the self. Others read into it dominion Home Rule. To another party it represented complete independence. Yet there were others who thought that Swaraj meant Muslim supremacy. To the masses it became synonymous with the

commencement "of a golden age when prices should fall, when taxation should cease, when each man should be free of state fetters, free to do whatever he wished to." Certain of these possible interpretations were endorsed by Mr. Gandhi himself on various occasions. At one time he explained Swaraj as Parliamentary Government whether within or without the empire, at another time as dominion Home Rule. On another occasion he said, it meant the universal employment of the spinning wheel. Yet again he identified it with the triumph of the Khilafat party. With such inconsistencies, which governed his life, he captured the Congress. Mr. Gandhi became the virtual dictator of the Congress for he had already captured the imagination of the people by insisting on his declaration of the possibility of obtaining Swaraj in less than a single year. The Khilafat was the war-cry of the Mussalmans. Dr. Ansari who presided over the League session justified the actions of the Mussalmans in adopting the course of Non-co-operation in the light of the circumstances that he had "endeavoured to show that all the talk about the liberation of the weaker nation from oppressive yoke, the right to freedom of subject nationalities and the principle of self-determination indulged in by the statesmen have been a delusion and a snare." The League changed its creed and adopted the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India. Maulana Mohammad Ali criticised the clause of "Peaceful and legitimate means," and said, "under the existing circumstances when loyalty to the British Government and self-

government within the British Empire were out of question as long as British Government persisted in their anti-Islamic and anti-Indian policy." The League also reaffirmed the resolution passed at its special session in Calcutta regarding non-violent, non-co-operation. Apart from the programme adopted some people suggested including Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the Mussalmans should migrate from India to Afghanistan.

This foolish scheme was launched resulting in in the loss of money and the lives of many. The movement started in Sindh and spread in N. W. P. More than 18,000 people were on their way to Afghanistan. The Afghan authorities forbade the admission of the pilgrims, resulting in the considerable loss of life, property and sufferings. No doubt that it was the most foolish of all foolish schemes and it was due to the fact that the leaders forgot to restrain their momentary impulses and were unmindful of the consequences which such measures in the long run bring forth. Mr. Gandhi in the company of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali undertook a long tour of the country preaching his doctrines of non-co-operation. His visit to Aligarh and appeal to the Aligarh boys, his letter to the trustees for refusing the grant of the government, is an act which the Mussalmans are likely to look upon with suspicion. While the Benares Hindu University with its Vice-Chancellor Mr. Malavia was preparing to accord a right royal reception to the Prince of Wales, Mr. Gandhi was in Aligarh suggesting to the authorities to close

down the university. The university authorities were put to a great strain. The historians cannot but pay a glowing tribute to the services rendered by Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmad in saving the University at a very critical juncture. On one side was the enthusiasm of the boys which was stirred up to its highest pitch by inflammatory speeches of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Mr. Gandhi and others. Mr. Gandhi did not go to Benares to preach the same doctrines while his visit to Aligarh was meant to finish the only hope, the only centre of Muslim culture once and for all. We have already seen the untold misery that thousands of Muslim cultivators who were induced to leave their homes by the preaching that religious obligation required their exodus from India to Afghanistan. This foolish scheme ought to have sufficiently opened the eyes but the enthusiasm of the people was too great to listen to sober councils. Mr. Gandhi on the other hand was out to finish Aligarh College and advised the trustees saying that, "the least that you in my humble opinion can do is to decline any further government grant, disaffiliate the great institution of which you are the trustees and reject the charter of the Muslim University." This was the least that Mr. Gandhi was demanding as a price of his co-operation from those on whom lay the responsibility of producing from its portals the future leaders of the Mussalmans. It seemed for a while that the entire fabric was in a state of tumbling down and the Mussalmans had closed their eyes to the future consequences and relied too much on what Mr.

Gandhi said. Mr. Gandhi was preaching from his pulpit the Hindu-Muslim Unity. He was constantly preaching it and was of the opinion then that "unity is strength, is not merely a copy book maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, divided we must fall." But Mr. Gandhi very frankly admitted that "save for the cow, Hindus can have no ground or quarrel with the Mussalmans." The Mussalmans reciprocated it by passing resolutions in the League Session under the presidentship of Hakeem Ajmal Khan asking the Mussalmans to refrain from cow slaughter as far as possible. The Mussalmans, as Mr. Gandhi admitted, were "striving their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities in this matter of life and death of the Hindus. The Muslim League under the presidentship of Hakeem Ajmal Khan carried a cow protection resolution at Amritsar......The Ali Brothers for the sake of their Hindu countrymen have given up the use of the beef in their house." While persistently repeating that cow-sacrifice should be stopped, another rebuff came from Mr. Gandhi when he promised Swaraj within one year but at the same time Mr. Gandhi had realised that to gain the support of the Hindus, it was essential to assure them that by his co-operation, he would stop the cow sacrifice and secondly he became conscious that his projected movement was likely to lose part of its support owing to the exclusively Mussalman complexion which he had assigned to its goal. Accordingly he also extended its scope to cover in addi-

tion to the satisfaction of the Muslim regarding the Khilafat question, the satisfaction of the Hindu opinion with the matter of the Punjab. The inclusion of the word Swaraj in his programme was meant to capture the imagination of the youth. Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation was accepted by the Congress and the campaign was accordingly launched. The Khilafat extremists and Ali Brothers in particular by their feverish activities, by their slogans of liberation of India from the British yoke were the undisputed leaders of the Mussalmans. Unfortunately the Ali Brothers had not fully realised the inner meanings of Mr. Gandhi's co-operation. The time soon came when the Hindu-Muslim unity to which Mr. Gandhi had attached so much importance and for which he demanded so many sacrifices from the Mussalmans seemed to be on the point of crumbling. The Ali Brothers were undoubtedly impatient. As Mussalmans, they had a higher conception of liberty. To them Swaraj did not mean any mental reservation. Neither could they think they could drive British out of India by using non-violent methods. Mr. Gandhi for a time being tried his level best to gloss over the violent speeches of Muslim workers but a large section of Hindus was being steadily alienated from the non-co-operation movement by the pan-Islamic aims of the Mussalmans. The reiterated assertions of the Ali Brothers that they were "Muslims first and everything afterwards," excited alarm among many of those who had been engaged in the struggle. In fact they

accused their Hindu workers of their apathy. The frenzied excitement over the Greek offensive against Angora, by the strained relations between the Turkish nationalists and His Majesty's Government and by the failure to secure the desired modifications of the treaty of Severes, the Islamic sentiment, were spurred. Maulana Mohammad Ali had openly declared that in case non-violence did not succeed, violence would be used. When all this was happening Mr. Gandhi through the intervention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, had knocked at the doors of the Viceregal Lodge. In his conversation with Lord Reading, the Viceroy, pointed out the violent speeches of Maulana Mohammad Ali. Mr. Gandhi promised to see to it that the Maulana offered a public assurance to eschew violence in every way and he forced Maulana Mohammad Ali to withdraw his words publicly. Lord Reading in a speech delivered a few days later remarked that "I informed Mr. Malavia that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course, Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us......As you may be aware the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali had issued a public pronouncement which doubtless you have seen to-day expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they have made inciting to violence." Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in his book, *Indian Struggle* sums up the position by remarking

that "though there was nothing wrong or humiliating in the whole affair to the public eye, it appeared as if both the Mahatma and the Maulana had been outmanœuvred by the astute Viceroy." Though the contemplated prosecution of Maulana Mohammad Ali was dropped after this interview, he and other Muslim leaders were arrested in September for their participation in the Khilafat conference at Karachi in August and were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment. At this Conference, a resolution was passed calling upon all Muslims to give up services under the government whether in a civil or in a military capacity and this constituted a breach of law. After the conviction of the Ali Brothers and their associates, Mahatma Gandhi came forward to take up the challenge. The same resolution was signed and published by 46 Congress leaders and it was repeated from a thousand platforms all over India but the government did not make a single arrest and took no notice of this defiance on the part of the Congress. Events outside India like the Sienfein movement in Ireland, Afghan's alliance with Mustafa Kamal Pasha, treaty between Persia and Soviet Russia, the rights of nationalist Wafd party in Egypt had non-plussed Great Britain and this had an inevitable reaction on the Muslims of India. In these circumstances the government of Lord Reading thought it best to placate the Congress and to deal with the Muslims alone. In Pandit Malavia the Government found a peace-maker. He went on interviewing different people and what transpired between the leaders and Malavia

in his anxiety to find out a solution, can best be described in the words of Mr. Bose when he gives out the secret of Mr. Malavia's intervention in these words:

> That year was drawing to a close, barely a fortnight was left and within the short period something had to be achieved in order to save the face of the Congress and fulfill the Mahatma's promise regarding Swaraj. The offer of the Viceroy had come to him as a God-send. If a settlement was made before December 31st and all the political prisoners were released, it would appear to the popular imagination as a great triumph for the Congress.

But the promised Swaraj of Mr. Gandhi never came.

Mopla Rebellion

Meanwhile, a great tragedy occurred generally known as Mopla Rebellion. Considerable excitement had spread in this part of the country. Throughout the year meetings were held in which the resolutions of Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. The cry of Swaraj raised by Mr. Gandhi was every day repeated. The stipulation of Non-violence attracted little attention, from a martial race. It must be understood that the Moplas are Muslims being the offspring of Arab migrants in Malabar who settled down in that part of the country a long time ago. The trouble arose when the police wanted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms. This was a signal for

rebellion. Throughout the country, roads were blocked, telegraphic lines cut and the railway lines were breached. As soon as the administration was paralyzed the Moplas declared that Swaraj was established. Some of the Hindus unnecessarily picked up a fight with the Mussalmans. Their opposition was taken for an attitude of hostility and their obstruction was considered an impediment in their way. Naturally they resented and some of the Hindus had to pay the price of obstruction. There is no doubt that the government was responsible for all these troubles. The Moplas were the martyrs and even Mr. Gandhi spoke about them as "brave God-fearing Moplas." The preachers of non-violence, as Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya admits "were denied opportunity of carrying the Gospel for six months prior to the outbreak." The repression of the government was at its height and to quote once again Dr. Pattabhi: "Horror and indignation were expressed at the inhumanity of confining nearly a hundred Mopla prisoners in a goods wagon on their transfer to Belari which ended in the death by suffocation of 70 of them on the night of November 19, 1921." The tragedy of Blackhole never occurred. It was only manufactured, but the British enacted the Wagon tragedy. Undoubtedly the Hindu feeling was stirred up against the Muslims by the exaggerated account which was given in the press and on the platform and which was used as a weapon by those Hindu leaders who did not see eye to eye with the Mussalmans.

Khilafat Again

Reverting to Khilafat question once again the strength of the Khilafat feeling continued and the programme of non-co-operation was carried out. The Government of India though keeping show of its authority, and unbending attitude was nevertheless perturbed. The boycott proposals, the non-co-operation movement and the great enthusiasm displayed by the younger generation, the sacrifices which they had cheerfully made, the manifestation of feelings in all parts of the country was bound to have its repercussions on the bureaucratic government. In the month of March a considerable sensation was caused in Muslim circles by the publication of a strongly worded representation by the Government of India to the Home Government. Lord Reading's government with the concurrence and full approval of the various local governments in India wisely emphasised and stressed upon His Majesty's Government their conviction of the intensity of the feelings in India regarding the importance for a revision of the treaty of Sevres. The Indian Government urged upon His Majesty's Government three essential points and in their proposals emphasised on the evacuation of Constantinople, the recognition of the suzerainty of the Sultan over the holy places, the restoration to Turkey of Ottoman Thrace including Adrionople and of Smyrna. The publication of this document by Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India combined with a growing sense of disappointment at the faliure

of Mr. Gandhi's campaign produced a great effect upon Muslim opinion. Mr. Montague's resignation following the publication of the Memorandum came as a great surprise to the Muslims. Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister disowned him. Interesting debates took place in the House of Commons and House of Lords over this issue, and the Muslims who at first thought of better times were once again disappointed.

An Episode

One more important episode occurred. Maulana Hasrat Mohani as the President of the All India Muslim League preached from the presidential pulpit Swaraj for India. Maulana Hasrat Mohani also moved on the Congress platform the same plea and thus tested Mr. Gandhi's sincerity for the promised Swaraj. Mr. Bose admits in his book, "so impatient was his (Hasrat's) eloquence and so responsive was his audience that one felt as if the resolution would be carried by a large majority but the Mahatma rose to pass the resolution and with great sobriety argued with the result that it was thrown out of the House." Recalling this incident Mr. Gandhi in his *Young India* remarked, "Maulana Hasrat Mohani put up a plucky fight for independence on the Congress platform and then as the President of the Muslim League and was happily each time defeated."

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi temporarily removed from the stage a man who had exercised great

influence over the destinies of the Indian people. Mr. Gandhi hesitated in taking any action although in words he was far ahead in every work. The Khilafat organisation which had practically superseded the Muslim League had never hesitated for a moment in taking direct action. Before long the relations of Hindus and Muslims which stood on weak foundations began to crumble down. Very soon the Mussalmans realised that the co-operation which they demanded was not forthcoming. The attitude which the Hindus adopted in the provincial legislature of the United Provinces on the question of the allocation of seats for the Muslims in the various districts was a flagrant breach of the agreed solution arrived at in Lucknow. The Hindus also did not see with favourable eyes the attitude of Mian Fazle Husain in giving their just and legitimate rights to the Mussalmans after assuming ministerial responsibility. What the Hindus actually wanted was, "heads I win, tails you lose." The hesitant attitude adopted by the various Hindu leaders was after all defined and fixed. Mr. Malavia in a speech at Amritsar, where serious Hindu-Muslim riots had taken place formerly, was expected to bring about a kind of settlement and a sense of security, explained the feelings of his Hindu compatriots and remarked: "Dear brothers do not pass the life of women. When you are forced and coerced, use your power." Similar speeches were made by him in Lahore and he openly said that if he was destined to live, he would very soon teach the women and the daughters of the Hindu Jati,

the use of the pistol. The Hindu Mahasabha was also organised and formed with the definite purpose of exciting Hindus against the Muslims. In its session held at Gaya Mr. Malavia had openly remarked that the present generation of the Hindus had become very weak and impotent. It was here that Sanghatan and Shuddhi movements were started. These movements were bound to antagonise the Hindu-Muslim relations but there were some honest persons who wanted some kind of settlement between Hindus and Muslims. Dr. Ansari, in the League with Lala Lajpat Rai, formulated a new pact which was to be the basis of Hindu-Muslim co-operation generally known as the Solan Pact. Similar efforts were made previously by that most sincere, patriotic and zealous Hindu, C. R. Das who commanded the respect of every Indian soul for the sincerity of purpose, for the noble aim that was the guiding principle, the only mission of his life, for which he wanted to live and that was to bring about a real unity between Hindus and Muslims. He had drawn up a Hindu-Muslim pact for settlement of the communal question in Bengal and he desired the Congress to put the seal of approval on it. The Cocanada Congress, however, did not do so and the pact was summarily rejected on the alleged grounds that partiality to the Muslims was shown and it had thus violated the principle of nationalism and as Mr. Bose says about these two pacts, "that these pacts indicated that the better minds among the Congress leaders had begun to realise the possibility of a communal rift and the

necessity for making some sort of settlement before the breach widened."

The sudden rise of Mustapha Kamal Pasha, the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks, their drive out of Angora and Constantinople had overjoyed every Muslim heart. Celebrations for Turkey were held on a large scale. The Muslim League under the presidentship of Mr. Bhurgri paid a tribute to the founders of Khilafat Committee in India. Reviewing the British attitude towards Mussalmans as regards the Greco-Turkish conflict, the president said: "Though the Muslims have known no peace of mind ever since the Tripolitan War, they have never seen darker days than during the ministry of the ex-Premier Mr. Lloyd George."

Continuing Mr. Bhurgri said that:

> Since the days when Lord Kitchener was sent out to Egypt to preserve the neutrality of Egypt in the Turko-Italian War the foreign policy of England towards the Islamic countries was one of unsympathetic and on some well-known occasions hostile attitude. If Islamic countries are weak to-day, Britain, in spite of recent expansion of her dominions, is decidedly weaker. Her prestige and moral weight are shaken in the East as they were never shaken before. In the Middle East where English statesmen counted their greatest gain, there is the greatest loss and the entire Middle East will sooner or later be lost to them.

Due to an incident at this session of the League the session ended abruptly. The circumstances which led to its adjournment were that a heated discussion had taken place on the motion of Dr.

Ansari urging the establishment of a national pact to ensure unity and harmony amongst the various communities and sects in India. This resolution was accepted. Another resolution put forward by Mr. Jinnah recommending entry into councils and striving for the attainment of Dominion Status as India's goal was an impediment in continuing further discussions. Dr. Ansari and other leading Non-co-operators vigorously opposed the motion. On votes being taken it was found that Mr. Jinnah's motion was defeated though by a very narrow majority. People were uncertain about the fate of the resolution in the open session. The parties were so evenly balanced that it was decided to adjourn the session *sine die*. The Muslim League was undoubtedly weakened owing to Khilafat organisation. It was no longer the only body claiming the allegiance of the Mussalmans.

Strictly speaking the activities of the Mussalmans were mainly guided by Khilafat organisations and the leaders were mostly from the Jamiatul-Ulama which had also organised itself into a body and had started holding regular sessions every year. These Ulamas for the first time realised what political leadership meant. The Khilafat was presented before the Mussalmans as a purely religious question and as such their help was necessary. But they did not cease to function after that but began to assert themselves in the body politic of the country as a factor to be counted and even its president claimed the superiority of the Jamiat over all other Muslim organisations or Conferences in India

and declared that in times to come, it would represent a unique position in the world so as to lead Muslim opinion in religious matters, but as politics and religion were inseparable in Islam, the Jamiat was also willing to give a lead on political issues. This notion of religion and politics is to-day the cause of many of our troubles. We have just seen that in August 1922, the Greeks had suffered terrible defeat and the Angora nationals under their general Mustapha Kamal Pasha had amazed the world by almost destroying the whole Greek advance. Jubilation of the Indian Mussalmans was natural but very soon a great resentment followed against the British Premier when it was known that he had ordered the mobilisation of the fleet in Turkish waters and had appealed to the dominions for help against Turkey. Mr. Lloyd George's Government had time after time broken faith with India and the Muslim world. He forgot his own solemn pledges which in the name of British Empire he had given to the Indian Mussalmans. Unfortunately internal dissensions became acute and thwarted his plans and his coalition Government collapsed on this issue. The Government of Mr. Baldwin took this matter up and the conference of the powers met at Lausane. For full nine months Indian Mussalmans talked of little else other than of Angora and Lausane. The Indian Mussalmans declared that they would stand by the Turks to the last Muslim and would disobey all laws which stood in the way of their religion. Happily peace was signed. The Muslims of India played no insigni-

ficant part nor were their sacrifices without results. Soon after this some of the Mussalmans received a shock by the deposition of the Sultan and the election of his nephew Abdul Majeed as Khalifa but not as Sultan. As a matter of fact the Turks, were not prepared as no other nation would tolerate the dictation of a policy from those who have but little interest in the day-to-day administration. The Turks realised that the continuation of Khilafat was against their national interests. Mustapha Kamal who was on the lookout for the pretext used an opportunity presented to him by the letters published in the name of H. H. Agha Khan and Mr. Amir Ali. The whole of the Turkish nation rallied round him for he openly alleged that these persons were the henchmen of British and the British were out to play their game again. The Non-co-operation movement was called off by Mr. Gandhi and it was realised as the coming events proved that the Hindu-Muslim unity evinced in the year 1920-21 was not to last long. The country was in the grips of communal riots and as Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his book on Indian Federation remarked:

> Shortly after 1923, the reaction against the accesses of Khilafat and non-co-operation cult began to be felt all over India. The community pulled itself together and the movement rapidly lost its influence......the decline of Khilafat movement produced hopeless disorganisation in the Muslim political programme......the contention between Hindus and Muslims on the one hand and between Congress and the Government on the other grew every year.

The situation was complicated by the foundation of the Hindu Mahasabha and its growing popularity. This orthodoxy in arms could hardly be overlooked by Congress and it became chary of entering into pacts with communities which might be repudiated by the Mahasabha on behalf of the Hindus. Even the Congress lost its hold over the masses and Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru in his *Autobiography* admits that on the Hindu side political reactionaries, "were among the principal communal leaders and in guarding Hindu interest they played definitely into the hands of the government." His frank admission that "many a Congressmen was a communalist under his national cloak," clears the fog from our eyes. The Hindu-Muslim conflict was sooner or later bound to come, for the fact remains that Hindus had but little interest in the extra-territorial interest of the Muslims. The conflict between the Hindu nationalism which according to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru "was definitely one of Hindu nationalism," and Muslim patriotism was bound to come. After the suspension of the Non-co-operation movement, different problems cropped up. Those who accused the British Government of dividing the Hindus and Muslims for all times would pertinently observe Mr. Jawahar Lal's remarks that "to say that the British Government created the Hindu-Muslim problem in India would be patently wrong." The fact is as Mr. Jawahar Lal says "there was the reaction after a strenuous campaign which had suddenly ended without apparent results. The three different roads which had

run parallel to each other began to diverge and go apart. The Khilafat question was out of the way. Communal leaders, both Hindus and Muslims, who had been suppressed by the mass enthusiasm of Non-co-operation days rose again and began taking part in public life. The unemployed middle class Muslims felt that the Hindus monopolise all the jobs and stood in their way. They demanded therefore separate treatment and separate shares in every thing." The result of all this was as Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru further admits "Hindu communal organisations grew in prominence. Posing as true nationalists, they were as sectarian and narrow as the others."

There was already a rift in the Congress over the question of council-entry. There was a party which was pleading for the entry under the name of Swarajists. The one striking feature of all this from the Muslim point of view was the pact generally known as Das Pact in Bengal. For a long time Das and Gandhi held diametrically opposite views. Das always held the opinion that Mr. Gandhi did not show sufficient diplomacy and prudence when the crucial hour had arrived and his opinion about Mr. Gandhi is best described in the words of Mr. Bose:

> In this connection I am reminded of what the Desh Bandhoo used frequently to say about the virtues and failings of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. According to him the Mahatma opens a compaign in a brilliant fashion. He works it up with unerring skill. He moves

from success to success till he reaches the zenith of his campaign but after that he loses his nerve and begins to falter.

The year 1923 was the blackest as regards riots. Dr. Kichelew had started the "Tanzeem" and "Tableegh" movements which were intended to organise the Mussalmans as a strong and virile community. The Hindus had already started "Sanghatan" and "Shuddhi" movements, though in a purely hostile and antagonistic fashion. The greatest tragedy occurred at Kohat which was the direct result of the Shuddhi movement. The secretary of Sanatan Dharma Sabha distributed a pamphlet which was calculated to wound Muslim religious susceptibilities and was most offensive in tone. The Government of India in its resolution admitted that "the publication of such a poem which to Muslims could hardly seem other than blasphemous would be mischievous and provocative anywhere."

Its publication in the North West Frontier Province where the Hindus are in a small minority among a Muslim people intensely religious in feelings and observances and already excited by communal feeling and hardly three miles from fanatical tribal territory, was, if deliberate, an act of wicked folly. Serious riots also broke out owing to the activities of Arya Samajists in Lucknow and Shahjahanpore, but the most significant and fearful of these riots occurred in Allahabad and Calcutta. Owing to Mr. Gandhi's silence over the Kohat riots, Maulana Mohammad Ali was very much agitated and differences began to grow up. In spite of the repeated

efforts of Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Mahmud, Mr. Gandhi observed complete silence on the subject of the delinquencies of the Hindu communalists. Suddenly, however, Mr. Gandhi sprang a surprise. He took a vow for two days and appealed to the Hindus and Mussalmans who had hitherto worked in unison, "not to commit suicide." As a result of this, a Hindu conference was called in Delhi. Though much ground was not covered, it certainly brought about a change in the general atmosphere. At the same time the adjourned League session met at Lahore and Mr. Jinnah who was the permanent President of the League recalled to the Mussalmans the past events asking them to take stock of their position. He said:

> Since 1920, owing to the most extraordinary and exceptional events which occurred one after the other starting with the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, Tragedy of the Punjab and horrors of Amritsar, Treaty of Sevres and the Khilafat agitation, the policy and the programme of Non-co-operation enunciated and formulated by Mahatma Gandhi was the order of the day. The League was not able and not willing to keep abreast with the movement started and first approved of at the Calcutta Sessions of the Indian National Congress and confirmed by the Nagpur Sessions of December, 1920, and had perforce, in view of a very powerful volume of public opinion that rallied round Mr. Gandhi's policy and programme, to go into the background. Since the commencement of 1923, it was realised and admitted that the triple boycott was a failure, and that the mass Civil Disobedience could not be undertaken successfully in the near future. Bardoli even was declared by Mr.

Gandhi as not ready for mass Civil Disobedience; and even prior to his prosecution and conviction, Mr. Gandhi had to resort to what is known as the Bardoli or Constructive Programme. Long before that, the triple bycott of Law Courts, Schools and Colleges and Councils had failed. The Lawyers, barring few exceptions, did not pay much heed to Mr. Gandhi's call and the students after a first rush of an impuslive character, realised that it was a mistake. Gaya witnessed a struggle in the Congress Camp and Mr. Das finally laid the foundations of what has subsequently become and is now known as the Swaraj Party, favouring Council entry. Boycott of Council as desired by Mahatma Gandhi was far from being effective or useful. Council seats in the Country were filled up; the Khilafat organisation which was carried on, could not claim any better position and being the handmaid of the Indian National Congress, it pursued practically the same policy and programme and it succeeded no more or better in giving effect to the programme which it had set up for itself. The Swaraj Party eventually at the Special Sessions of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September, 1923, prevailed upon and obtained the verdict of the Indian National Congress to permit those who wished to enter the Legislature, to do so. Whatever may have been the resultant good or evil, I think you will agree with me that we must at this moment make use of the good and forget and discard the evil. It is in this spirit that I wish that we should proceed with our future work. Many mistakes have been made, blunders have been committed, great deal of harm has been done; but there has come out of it a great deal of good also. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Swaraj for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India. The ordinary man in the street

has found his political consciousness and realised, that self-respect and honour of the Country demand that the Government of the Country should not be in the hands of any one else except the people of the Country. But while that demand is a just one and the sentiment only natural and requires every encouragement, we must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is the political unity between the Hindus and the Mohammadans, for the advent of foreign rule and its continuance in India is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Mohammadans, are not united and do not sufficiently trust each other. The domination by the Bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus and Mohammadans do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Mohammadans are united. Swaraj is almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to be free people, let us unite, but if we wish to continue slaves of Bureaucracy, let us fight amongst ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters. Englishmen being our arbiters.

Mr. Jinnah indicated the future line of action. The Bombay Session which met under the presidentship of Mr. Syed Raza Ali and which once again attracted on its platform Dr. Besant, Messrs Nehru, Patel and many other party leaders was destined to give a new orientation to the League policy.

It was resolved by the League Session to appoint a committee to bring about at an early date a conference of the various organisations with a view to co-operate together and to present a united front. People expected of better days ahead. The Swarajists had now entered the legislatures and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the leader of the Swaraj Party

in the Assembly moved a resolution demanding that a Round Table Conference be immediately convened for drawing up a constitution for India establishing full responsible government in this country. Replying to the debate on behalf of the Government of India Sir Malcom Hailey, promised an early investigation into the complaints against the criticism of the constitution and gave an undertaking that very soon a committee would be appointed to investigate the whole matter and promised that if after the investigation it was found that there was possibility of constitutional advance within the four corners of the Act, the Government would be glad to recommend to the British Cabinet to give effect to these changes. The reply was considered disappointing and the elected members of the House ranged themselves against all the proposals of the government in the legislature. The government had undoubtedly appointed the committee to enquire into the difficulties and various defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act 1919, and to investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such defects and difficulties consistent with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act either by action taken under the Act, and the rules by such amendments of the Act as would appear necessary to rectify any administrative imperfection without realising that the whole machinery set up by the virtue of the Government of India Act of 1919 was defective and needed a thorough change. The government missed an opportunity due to the lack of broad-mindedness, the

absence of which the Indian leaders have always felt and thus failed to approach the problem from a new angle of vision.

The committee thus appointed was to be presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member of the Government of India and among other members were Sir T. B. Sapru, Sir P. S. Siva Swami Aiyer, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Dr. Pranjpye. The Report of the Committee was disappointing, but it was due to the simple fact that the majority was of the nominated official members. The elected members who were in a minority submitted a minority committee report. Outside the Legislatures, an understanding between Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Gandhi was arrived at. As a result of this, another unity conference was called at Bombay. The Muslim League which had receded into background received fresh momentum as a result of constitutional agitation. The Khilafat question was no longer before Mussalmans as it was abolished by Mustapha Kamal Pasha. The only question of magnitude and of importance was to gain the lost position of prestige and power. Mr. Jinnah stood once again as the leader of thought of the Mussalmans giving expression to the views, religious and communal, held by the Muslim Leaguers. Not being content with the Government's reform proposals, he once again moved in the Central Legislature the resolution for an appointment of a fresh committee to examine the whole question.

Mr. Jinnah further said the real issue before

the House was whether the Act was to be revised earlier than 1929 or not. It had been proved that Dyarchy could not enable them to make progress within the structure of the Act. No minor amendment would satisfy any section of the politically-minded people. What then was the Government's answer? He had heard speeches from the opposite benches which scandalized the people of India. They were told they were not a nation during and after the war. "How were they represented on the League of Nations as a nation? Was it that India was a nation, when it suited the British and not, when it did not? Even Lord Birkenhead had contradicted himself in one place." He had asked whether India was a nation and in another breath had spoken of the people of India. The Speaker recognised the difficulties and asked the Government to help India to overcome them. Lord Birkenhead had done a grave injustice to India by his statement that even ten cadets for the King's Commission were not forthcoming. Mr. Jinnah declared: "That is entirely false. We will give you ten thousand." Lord Birkenhead had shown utter ignorance of the conditions of India and grasp of only one side of the picture. He continued:

> You say there are difficulties; I recognise them. Let us meet and solve them as comrades together. What is your answer to those who are co-operating? None. What is the answer to me, who has come to co-operate? Do you want Pandit Motilal to go down on his knees before the Viceregal Throne and then only you will appoint a Royal Commission? What has he been do-

ing in the Assembly? Has he not been co-operating? What other evidence do you want to produce that the responsible leaders are not offering you co-operation? Have you no eyes and no ears, have you no brains?

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said:

Lord Birkenhead's pomposity had claimed the present Act as a "humble" effort in human ingenuity. Yes, ingenuity indeed! He had asked them to draft a constitution to solve "our problems," as if the problems were of the British people and not of the Indian people. The amendment recorded fundamental changes, which they wanted to be incorporated in the Constitution. Let the Government say that such and such a proposal was wrong and he would be open to conviction.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said:

Do you sincerely and honestly want us to submit to your fundamental proposals on which a Constitution can be based? India to-day is in difficulty. I mean no menace and no threat. India is determined to win her freedom. The manner, the measure and time, either you determine in a reasonable spirit, or she will determine for herself.

Once again the efforts on the part of Indian leaders proved abortive. The year also saw the passing away of a great personality. The death of C. R. Das was for India a national calamity of the first magnitude. His efforts in bringing about a real Hindu-Muslim unity were great. As Mr. Subhas Bose remarks:

He knew more than any one else that situations favourable for wresting political power from the enemy do not come often and when they do come they do not

last long. While the crisis lasts a bargain has to be struck. He knew also that to sponsor a settlement when public enthusiasm is at its height needs much courage and may involve a certain amount of unpopularity. In contrast with Desh Bandhoo the role of Mahatma has not been a clear one. In many ways he is altogether an idealist and a visionary, in other respects he is an astute politician. At times he is as obstinate as a fanatic, on other occasions he is liable to surrender like a child. The instinct of the judgment so necessary for political bargaining is lacking in him. When there is a real opportunity for a bargain as in 1921, he is liable to stick out for small things and thereby upset all chances of a settlement. Whenever he does go in for a bargain as we shall see in 1931, he gives more than he takes. On the whole he is no match in diplomacy for an astute British politician.

The death of Deshbandhoo C. R. Das may be regarded as the beginning of a period of all-round depression in the country. If Mahatma Gandhi had come out of his retirement exactly at this juncture, things might have taken a different course, but unfortunately for India, he did not do so. The Deshbandhoo's personality was, among other things, a powerful cementing factor within the Swaraj Party and also in the domain of Hindu-Muslim relations. It served, moreover, "to tone up the attitude of the Party to an extremist pitch. In his absence dissensions began to appear within the Party."

On the other hand the League was doing its best to bring within its fold men of different shades of political opinion. The leaders of the Muslim League had made it clear that while they

stood solid behind the demands of the Mussalmans for the protection of their legitimate interests they were equally devoted to the promotion of such measures as are calculated to bring about prosperity and advancement of the country as a whole. The League from the very beginning had stressed on Hindu-Muslim unity but it believed in a real unity and not a paper unity. It was not prepared to ignore all those forces which were antagonistic to the Muslim feelings and in which Hindu congressmen were seen taking a leading part. It had respected Hindu sentiments, passed resolutions against cow-sacrifice, had allowed the Hindu leaders to sit on the pulpit of the mosque and had put the Brahmanical mark on their forehead and all this was shattered to the ground for the many reasons which have been elaborately discussed by Sir Abdul Rahim in his presidential address at the League in 1925. Recalling the treatment of the majority by the minorities and the difficult positions in which the Muslims were placed, Sir Abdul Rahim expressed himself thus: "Nor is it possible in the present circumstances to have one common general electorate without leaving the minorities absolutely at the mercy of the majority."

Nevertheless both the Muslim leaders and Hindu leaders had not given up hopes of finding out a satisfactory, real and honourable solution of Hindu-Muslim problem. Mr. Gandhi called an All Parties Conference which was convened as a result of the discussion held at Bombay in November 1924. Mr. Jinnah made it clear that he had not come to the

Conference to say what the Mussalmans wanted but he was there to sit with the Hindus as a co-worker and he appealed to all of them to put their heads together not as Hindus or Mohammadans but as Indians. Mr. Jinnah further addressing the meeting said that the dispute between the Hindus and Muslims, particularly with regard to their representation in the various legislatures and other elective bodies and with regard to their share in the services, was a question which had been a terrible monster in the way of the country's progress. It was not for the Hindus nor Muslims alone to ask what they wanted, it was up to everyone to try and find a solution of the question. Without removing this terrible obstacle they could not make any progress in any direction. "We have come in a spirit of meeting you as friends, and as responsible men who occupy eminent and representative positions in their respective communities, let us put our heads together." As a party to the Lucknow Pact Mr. Jinnah reviewed its history and declared that it was never intended to be permanent. But the important and fundamental principle of protecting minorities, wherever they were, was accepted. Mr. Jinnah, concluding, said on behalf of Muslims that they claimed that the Bengal and the Punjab Muslims should not be reduced to a minority and that in the other provinces the two principles of safeguarding minorities should be accepted as in the Lucknow Pact. The question of representation on the Services could be taken up separately. Unfortunately once again the efforts did not succeed.

Mr. Gandhi in the course of his remarks frankly admitted that under the prevailing conditions the framing of any kind of constitution or scheme which could be called a united scheme was impossible. In short, no tangible result was produced by all these deliberations. The general conditions, the relations between the Hindus and Muslims went from bad to worse. All this was due to the fact that the spirit of give and take, of live and let live was lacking. The causes are manifold, the reasons numberless, but the one rather the best given is by Seth Yaqub Hussain, who in his presidential address of Madras League in 1927, remarked:

> As long as Hindus and Mussalmans continue to regard themselves as two separate peoples divided not only by religion, but also by culture and traditions, there will always exist a barrier between them. Under the circumstances the best that can be hoped for is alliance between the two principal communities that inhabit this land. Alliance can by no means be unity. As with individuals so with communities and nations. Friends of to-day may be enemies of to-morrow and friends again the day after. We may talk big about nationalism but communalism, I am afraid, will continue to be the order of the day for a long time to come. Communalism can only be destroyed with the destruction of the barriers that divide the people into several communities.

The relations showed no improvement and in the coming years the hope of unity was lost once and for ever.

CHAPTER XI

APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL COMMISSION BEFORE AND AFTER

The year 1926 did not open in a sunny atmosphere. Lord Reading, the then Viceroy of India, in his opening address to the Central Legislature left the question of India's political advancement where it was before. His speech was full of platitudes. People expected some tangible results from the personal exchange of views between Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading. The Viceroy held the view that "the hand of friendship had not yet been grasped," that the change in the tone and temper, though marked, had fallen short of his hopes. He, however, promised the appointment of a Statutory Commission and appealed for co-operation. He pleaded thus:

> So far the appeals made with the object of promoting harmony and concord have failed to evoke the clear and definite response from India which should have been unmistakable in the manifestations, and have left no room for doubts or ambiguities.
>
> A more generous response would, I feel sure, have evoked generous action. The heart of Britain would have been won by immediate and sympathetic acceptance of the advance she had made and a new situa-

tion would have been created based upon mutual trust and good-will.

Just after a few days of this speech in the Assembly, Mr. Jinnah moved a resolution relating to the constitutional advance of India. Referring to the demands made for the revision of the constitution, the appointment of Muddiman Committee and the report of the minority of that body suggesting immediate change of the constitution which could be worked no more, Mr. Jinnah said that the people thought that, as the result of the Muddiman Committee's labours, enquiry into the Reforms would be expedited, but Lord Birkenhead, Lord Reading and Sir Alexander Muddiman had thrown cold water and had, parrot-like, asked for co-operation. "What did the Home Member want? Was it that, whatever the opinion of the whole country was, until the Swarajists said they would co-operate, response from the Government would not be forth-coming?" Mr. Jinnah continued, "Is it possible in India or in any country in the world that all people could agree on a particular course of action? Are you right in treating with contempt the opinion of all bodies and associations in the country who are not Swarajists?" Mr. Jinnah said, "You say you are prepared to accelerate the appointment of the Statutory Committee, but you want co-operation." Mr. Jinnah made it clear that he wanted an immediate appointment of the Statutory Commission within the meaning of the Section 84, and that the personnel of the Committee ought to be satisfactory. Mr. Jinnah also said that

he only pleaded for a Royal Commission. He declared, "I do not appeal to the Treasury Benches. Those 26 members are mere machines, automatons. They have no conscience, no judgment." The various speeches criticised the shilly-shallying policy of the Government. The Government was accused of procrastination. The Government all the time was taking shelter behind the plea that the Swarajists who formed the largest group in the Assembly and for certain reasons had abstained themselves from attending the session were not there. Mr. Jinnah's motion was lost in the Assembly, and once again the Government refused to accept the olive branch.

The unsympathetic attitude of the Government had forced the Swarajists to make an exit by way of protest against the attitude of the Government. It is unfortunate that at a time when the people and the best members of the country were concentrating on a new constitution the general life of the country was marked by events not very pleasant to think of. When the Nationalists were still busy in discussing whether to accept or not, the political offices and such power as the constitution of the 1919 Act placed in their hands, when some honest and sincere people were still trying to save Nationalism from being smothered by communalism, most fierce and bloody riots occurred. It would not be too much to say that the history of 1926 is mainly a history of Hindu-Muslim strife.

The leaders of both the parties did not seem to be determined to pursue a definite line of action.

Slackening of the movements gave opportunity to the people to dispute and quarrel. The attitude of Mr. Gandhi against the many Mussalmans who had made considerable sacrifices and had virtually accepted his leadership and had shown a firm determination to stand firm by his side was disappointing. Although the Khilafat was abolished itself, some branches of the Khilafat Committees continued to function. Owing to the dissensions amongst the Congress ranks and the heavy sacrifices it demanded from its followers in the form of refusal of office, it was much resented by some of the Hindus. The Mussalmans, as a nation, abandoned, all hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity, and kept themselves aloof from the Congress. It would be certainly too much to say that this bitter experience had made them any the more wise. The only redeeming feature or the silver lining on the horizon was that they had realized that Muslim interests could no longer be subordinated to or placed in the hands of the Congress leaders who were out to placate them. The cumulative effect of this may not have been the strengthening of All India Muslim League itself which was weakened by the Khilafat agitation, but it certainly did save Mussalmans from their pseudo-well-wishers. It is now possible to realise how the Hindus were planning to curtail Muslim influence, and if their designs and schemes, had been successful, the Mussalmans would have completely been swept away by the militant Hindu nationalism.

The Hindu Mahasabha, owing to the refusal

of the Congress to accept office, was gaining strength everywhere. The disgruntled element amongst the Hindus who feared lest the Mussalmans by accepting office should become more strong, joined hands with it. There was nothing, as even to-day, to check the Congressmen from becoming the members of this organization. The Hindu Mahasabha consisted of erstwhile Nationalists and of such persons who wanted a platform for themselves. The growth of sectarian movement amongst the Hindus, the cry of Hindu interests in danger, the ungrounded fear of Muslim domination, had their natural reaction. The masses were led to believe that to play music before the mosque was a religious commandment, to fight against cow-sacrifice was the height of sacrifice which they could offer. The causes which generally led to these riots were the slaughter of cows and playing of music before mosques at prayer time. In short, the Hindus and Muslims were living in a state of constant mental tension, and only a spark was needed to light the flame of communal passion and to disturb the peace of India and to change friendly atmosphere into one of mutual hatred and animosity. To a student of history and more particularly to an Indian who is accustomed to observe and to see the playing of music and cow-slaughter being repeated from day to day, this cannot appeal as a genuine reason for such riots. There must be something more that needs heart-searching. Certain hidden meanings must be found in such action. To understand the current of

events one must not lose sight of those psychological movements which were gaining ascendancy in the country, all those mental stirring of that selfish instinct which fought for power. The hold of the Swarajists was completely weakened in the rank and file of the Mussalmans. Those who had fought the elections on their tickets were no longer with them. Their seats in the new elections were captured by others. In provinces like Bengal and the Punjab, the situation was not at all helpful for the Congress. These Muslim members definitely advocated office acceptance so as to redress the wrongs done to the Mussalmans and to give them their legitimate share which was denied to them. The position of the Hindu Mahasabha under these circumstances was naturally strengthened as a counterpoise to the Muslim demands. It was for the first time realized by the Hindus that all did not belong to them, that the Mussalmans too wanted their share. To most it came as a rude shock and it was difficult for them not to be influenced by the current of events. The position of the Hindu Mahasabha was already strengthened by the Responsivist Party which was headed by Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. This party was formed with a view to advocate discriminate opposition as opposed to the Swarajist policy of indiscriminate opposition to the Government in the Legislature and it made no secret of its disapproval of the pro-Muslim attitude of the Swarajist Party and of the Indian National Congress, an accusation which was unfounded. The Hindu

Mahasabha and the Responsivist Party went hand in hand and the only common ground for them was the fear of the Muslims strengthening their position. The speeches and addresses of leaders like Doctor Moonje worked up the feelings of the Hindus. The Hindus transgressed the limits to such an extent that even an arch-Nationalist like Hakeem Ajmal Khan was forced to admit the onslaught of Hindu enmity and contemplated "a grave fight if the Hindus still did not take warning and changed their attitude and methods." The attitude of Mr. Gandhi towards this question was shrouded in mystery. He was most emphatic in postulating that Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible. As an avowed Satyagrahi and a firm believer in Ahimsa, one naturally expected from him to go and compose the animosities and settle disputes. The estrangement between the Ali Brothers and the Mahatma had already taken place on account of the Hindu-Muslim riot at Kohat, in Baluchistan. They had rightly complained that Mahatma had taken the side of Hindus. At a time when the conditions were fast deteriorating and the third party was sure to exploit the situation to the detriment of India's interest. Mr. Gandhi's studied silence created a suspicion.

Lord Irwin succeeded Lord Reading and almost simultaneously there were communal riots, in the streets of Calcutta, of the fiercest kind ever known. For more than 6 weeks the civic life of the city was disturbed. There was nothing but carnage and confusion. Mr. Gandhi had already

given his expression to his feelings in 1925 when he had remarked in a speech that "if blood-shed is inevitable, then let blood be shed in a manly spirit." The trouble started between the Muslims and Arya Samajists. No one can deny that the Congress had a predominant influence over the Hindus while the Arya Samajists had but very few followers. For six weeks this vandalism and massacre went on. A man of deep humanitarian instinct, Lord Irwin, was greatly upset, and he appealed that "In the name of the Indian National life and of religion, the good name of India should be kept untarnished." In spite of the repeated appeals of Mr. Sen Gupta and the "Statesman", Mr. Gandhi turned a deaf ear and refused to go to Calcutta to bring about peace. Instead of this the apostle of non-violence confessed that an amicable settlement was only possible when the Hindus and Muslims were tired of fighting and even advised other popular leaders to leave things alone and to retire to seclusion by following his example. This attitude of Mr. Gandhi reveals his dormant communalism.

Efforts, in the past were made to bring about a real Hindu-Muslim unity. A Unity Conference was called in Delhi. This Conference evolved a formula which was in the form of a mandate to the Congressmen but they did not attach any more importance to it than to an ordinary scrap of paper. Dr. Ansari in his Presidential address remarked with reference to these riots thus:

> Hardly a day passes when we did not hear of some violent outburst of communal fury in one part of the

> country or the other, leaving its legacy of bitterness and hatred threatening to reduce the country into a vast game of warring communal factions bent on destroying each other. It is due to this that the Congress has lost its popularity. It is being relegated in many provinces to a secondary position.

While Dr. Ansari was appealing for the restoration of good relations, some of the speakers in Hindu Mahasabha session openly stated their views shared by the rank and file of the Congress, that not only the British but the Muslims also be sent out of this country, bag and baggage. Replying to these absurd statements, Dr. Ansari said:

> If there be any Hindu brother of mine who imagines that he can get rid of 70 millions of these Muslim fellow-countrymen, he is labouring under a great delusion and the sooner he is disillusioned the better for the country.

The general atmosphere of the country was much disturbed by the serious communal riots that had taken place. The outstanding question which was the cause of the riots was the music before the mosque and the sacrifice of the cows. The Hindus seemed determined to put every kind of blame upon the Muslim shoulders and with the singular purpose of getting the British support they alleged that the Mussalmans were trying to get the military aid of the Muslim countries with the object to turn the British out and establish Muslim Raj once again. As Mr. (Sir) Abdul Qadir remarked, "this theory seems to be the product

of the heated brains of a few faddists and is propagated in order to wean Hindus from nationalism and to work upon their fears for part purposes."

Regarding the cow protection he said:

> Another problem which has been longer with us than the problem of musical processions, is that of the protection of cows. As you all know a large number of Hindus are very sensitive on this point. I am not concerned here with the merits of the question but wish only to point out that if cow-killing cannot be prevented on 364 days of the year, it passes one's comprehension why it should be so provoking on the one-day when Muslims resort to it, in certain places as a part of a religious ceremony. The Hindus may reasonably insist on due precautions being taken to respect their feelings and on avoiding any exposure of the meat or the public sacrifice of cows, but there should be no reasonable objection to Muslims performing their ceremony of sacrifice inside their houses and with proper safeguards.

As regards the question of music before mosque, he said:

> Many of our recent troubles would have been avoided if we had a spirit of toleration. The question of music before the mosques, which has caused so much bitterness of late, furnished a striking instance of intolerance on both sides. One can understand the excitement of the masses on a question of this nature, but it is difficult to understand leaders of political thought among Hindus insisting that Hindus have a right to play music before mosques, including prayer times, and similarly Muslim leaders saying that a procession with music may not pass before a mosque at any time. Such Hindus should realise that, apart from any question of usage or law, mere decency dictates

> that if you pass a place of worship you have to pass it reverently; especially when there are people engaged in religious devotion.

As already pointed out the whole atmosphere of the country was charged with suspicion, prejudice and jealousy. The Shuddhee and Sanghatan Movements were playing havoc with the sentiments of the Mussalmans. Hakeem Ajmal Khan deprecated this mode and considered the riots of Arrah and Kuttarpur as a result of it. Maulana Sulaiman Nadvee, as the President of the Khilafat Conference, said that prominent Hindu leaders had "openly excited the Hindus against the Mussalmans and yet advocated Hindu-Muslim unity at the Congress Platform."

The Congress was undoubtedly keeping up a show by passing certain resolutions on Hindu-Muslim unity. Mere paper resolutions could not attain the desired object. No serious attempts were made to bring about the desired unity. The Muslims had now realized, as we have already discussed, that even the greatest of the great amongst the Hindus could not be relied upon for long. If Congress really stood for Nationalism and for equal rights and demands for all communities, classes and castes then one is naturally curious to know why it did not attract all the communities of India. The very fact that there were very few Muslims in the Congress shows that they had lost faith in its pledges and promises. For larger interest they were with the Congress but where their differences with the Muslims were concerned, they were with the Mahasabha. Therefore, they had

divided loyalties.

The matters had taken such a shape that Lord Irwin, almost in his first utterances in the course of a speech, dealt with communal question. He remarked that he had anxiously weighed the possibility of himself convening an All-India Conference to consider the present situation. If he could think there was real likelihood, or even a real chance, of such action effecting an improvement, he would not have refrained from adopting it by the inevitable risk of failure. He trusted, however, that as time went on, there would be a mutual disposition among those who could speak for their great communities to take such bilateral undertaking in the cause of peace as would reflect the wishes of a substantial majority of the opinion of both communities.

He recalled that the Unity Conference, held in October, 1924, had not succeeded in producing a calmer atmosphere which was hoped of it. It failed, and every similar attempt would fail so long as a conference was not preceded by any adequate change of heart and feeling throughout the communities. "The two communities should first bring themselves to judge the matters in dispute with a far greater measure of toleration and restraint than unhappily prevails at present." The more he pondered over the problem the more clearly he felt that the first work to be done was by the leaders within their own ranks and the future of their community and the country alike demanded it. "Let them throw themselves, into a nobler struggle, the fight for toleration." He saw before him two

ancient and highly organized societies with able and esteemed public men as their recognised leaders. He could not conceive that really sincere and sustained appeal by them to the rank and file of their co-religionists, sustained by active propaganda of of the new gospel of peace, would go unheeded. In past centuries each community had made great contributions to the annals of history and civilization in India. He refused to believe that they could make no contribution now to rescue the good name of India from the hurt which their present discord inflicted upon it. He appealed in the name of religion because there could be no greater tragedy than that religion, which should be the expression and the support of man's highest instincts, should be prostituted by an alliance with actions through which those instincts are distorted and disgraced. Such a development, if it were unchecked, could only end in the infliction of a mortal wound upon human character, upon India and upon the cause of that religion in whose guise it was allowed to masquerade.

Another happy pronouncement was made by His Excellency Lord Irwin on July 28th at Poona on the Hindu-Muslim question in which he reiterated his deep anxiety to ease the tension. "I am determined," the Viceroy told the Mohammadans who presented him with an address, "with your help and with the help of the Hindu community to remove this blot from the fair name of India."

The appeal fell on deaf ears. The position of the Muslim League was clear. It was determined

to protect the legitimate interest of the Mussalmans. It deprecated the transgression of certain limits. It appealed for the co-operation of the two. The League expected that in face of the coming constitutional reforms Indian people would be more inclined to make the future happy and bright instead of living in past calamities and presenting a ghastly spectacle before the world. Nevertheless, the Muslim League very strongly expressed itself in favour of Reforms which the country needed and hoped that the riots would be a passing phase whose repetition would entail misery and hardship, sufferance and tragedy.

The All India Muslim League defined in its three successive sessions, 1924, 1925 and 1926, the position of the Mussalmans with respect to any forthcoming changes of the constitution in the country. While demanding a change in the Government of India Act of 1919, and the appointment of Royal Commission to formulate after due inquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis, it, however, demanded that in any future constitutional scheme of India, all the legislatures of the country and other elected bodies, shall be constituted on the basis of effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality, and it further reiterated the demands of the Mussalmans for separate electorate. These proposals were criticized by the Hindu Leaders who insisted on joint electorate with adequate safeguard for the rights of the

Mussalmans. The question before the Indian public now was the revision of the constitution itself. This question was anxiously discussed between the Hindu and Muslim leaders in Delhi. The Hindu members of the Congress and Nationalists, having already decided in favour of joint electorate with the reservation of the seats for the Muslims either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or of the existing population of each provinces, the Mussalmans met in an informal conference on the 20th April, 1927, under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued invitations to influential Mohammadans in all parts of India.

After a protracted discussion, the Conference agreed to the introduction of joint electorates under certain conditions. It was unanimously resolved that the Muslims should accept a settlement on the basis of the certain proposals adopted by them so far as the representation in the various legislatures and "in various schemes of constitution is concerned." Mr. Jinnah in a statement on the 29th March explained the Muslim Leaders' offer to the Hindus and deprecated that they had not fully appreciated its contents. He made it clear that the offer to accept the statement of proposals made therein, was subject to what he would call conditions precedent before the Muslims would be prepared to accept joint electorate with reservation of seats. These conditions were a sine qua non of any final settlement.

(1) That Sind should be separated from Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province,

(2) that the Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as any other Province in India and that Hindus would agree to support this demand of the Mussalmans. It is only in the event of these conditions being accepted that the Mussalmans would accept joint electorates with reservation of seats in all provinces, and make concessions to Hindu minorities in the matter of the number of representatives in the three provinces of Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, as Hindu majority provinces would be prepared to make to Mussalman minorities in the other Provinces. This matter of concessions can be discussed and settled by responsible committees that may be appointed by the two communities respectively. In Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population; in other words, mixed electorates with the reservation seats according to population. In the Central Legislature Mussalman's representation should not be less than one-third, also through mixed electorates with reservation of seats.

This offer is inter-dependent and can only be accepted or rejected in its entirety. The Hindu leaders have at a meeting held in Delhi on 23rd March 1927, appointed a Committee consisting of representatives of all provinces to frame definite proposals after consulting Hindu opinion and make an early report. I therefore trust that the country will give the fullest consideration to the offer that is made without any heat or passion being created and in a calm and impartial atmosphere.

He said in conclusion that no time should be lost in bringing about a speedy settlement at this critical juncture.

After these proposals were made public, they

had a mixed reception. There was a storm of opposition from Madras Muslims. In Bihar there was a heated discussion. Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz and Maulana Shafee Daudi, supported Delhi proposals and expressed their fears that if the present tension of the Hindus and Muslims were to continue, then the Muslim life and property would be in danger in villages because the hostility and suspicion aroused in the Hindu minds had gone too far. The other party held the view that in joint electorate chances of friction would multiply and no tangible result would be possible. They complained that Hindu Members of the Assembly did not exhibit impartiality in matters of Reforms in North-West Frontier and Ajmere and they could no longer rely on their goodwill. The Muslims of Bihar made it clear that any step at the present juncture to replace separate electorate by joint electorates and particularly in view of the various utterances which have been given public expression on the platform of All-India Hindu Sabha against the religious and other rights of the Mussalmans, the whole attempt was premature and the Muslims were not prepared to give up the separate right of representation and declared that under no circumstances would the Mussalmans be prepared to give up the right of separate election.

While every effort was being made to find out some kind of formula to end the tension between the two communities, there occurred certain events which were responsible for the many riots that subsequently took place. The most impor-

tant of this was the Rangila Rasool Case. Briefly speaking this book was written by some animous person who had tried to draw instances from the life of the Holy Prophet against the evils of polygamy. There was a great agitation amongst the Mussalmans and the author of it was prosecuted, but he was acquitted by Justice Kunwar Daleep Singh. This was a signal for the trouble. The Mussalmans of the Punjab waited in deputation on the Governor and expressed their feelings. The Governor gave a sympathetic reply to the deputationists and was subjected to criticism on this attitude by all the so-called Nationalist papers of India. Maulana Mohammad Ali, whose feelings were injured to the core, wrote leading articles in his paper, and in one of his articles he analysed the offence and stated that it was a synthesis of six different offences but Mr. Daleep Singh is the first Judge of the High Court, who brought home to the Mussalmans that none of these offences was an offence according to the Indian Penal Code. Maulana enumerated these offences as insulting the Founder of Mussalmans, insulting the religion of Mussalmans, attempting to bring the Founder of Islam into hatred, attempting to bring the religion of Mussalmans into hatred, wounding the feelings of Mussalmans and attempting to bring Mussalmans into contempt. This judgment of the Lahore High Court opened the flood gate of mischief much greater than the Hindu-Muslim quarrels over cow-slaughter and music before mosques. The Mussalmans demanded the resignation of Justice

Daleep Singh and there was a terrible excitement over it in the whole of the province. Some persons were also arrested in this connection. Maulana Mohammad Ali remarked on these arrests by expressing the feelings that "Rajpal (the author of Rangila Rasool) should be at large and Messrs. Bukharee and Nooral Haq should rot in a prison is a most painful paradox of British justice."

There were protests, hartal and demonstration against this judgment and it was evident that if necessary steps were not taken, the conflagration was bound to spread in all parts of the country.

Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, President of the Congress had considerably laid emphasis on the need for political and communal unity. It was, as he once remarked, his life ambition to find out a formula of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindu members of the Congress party in the Assembly had already expressed this on the 17th March, 1927, and had demanded modification of the existing system of communal representation. Similarly the conference convened by Mr. Jinnah which was attended by many prominent Muslim leaders, decided that on the fulfilment of certain conditions that Mussalmans would be prepared to accept a kind of modification in the award based on the plea for a joint electorate. The Congress Working Committee recorded its approval on the resolution adopted by the members of the Conference convened by Mr. Jinnah and appointed for that purpose a Committee with the hope that a speedy settlement of the differences between the Hindus and Muslims would be soon

effected. In the Councils of the Congress this question occupied most of the time. It seemed that the Congress was determined to find out a solution of this problem. The demands of the Muslims were considered favourably and long resolutions were adopted on this issue. But the very proposal of replacing joint election with that of the separate election gave rise to an acute controversy. In the Punjab the members of the Muslim League adopted a rather hostile attitude. It is true that in the Punjab the Muslim League had never been so strong as to claim its prepondering influence over all sections of the people. The people at the top used it as an instrument for their own ends as the coming events proved. They were insisting on it, because it served their purpose well. They had no other organization on behalf of which they could claim to represent themselves before the Government as the leaders of the Muslim community. The Government of the day was more concerned with the representative character which an individual could put up unmindful of his followers. Under these circumstances it was rather difficult for a certain type of persons to have gone out of the League and organize themselves in some other block for they knew their shortcomings, and other limitations. Placed in such a position no alternative was left but to stick to their old guns and to dance to the tune of the Government as well. The Punjab Muslim League denounced the Delhi proposals and perhaps in their hearts of heart were well satisfied.

On the other hand, the whole country was in the grip of communal riots. It had taken the toll of human beings, claiming hundreds of lives, hundreds of widowed women, many orphans and numberless homeless people. Naturally people on both the sides were anxious to find out some kind of solution which may put an end to this antagonism. Maulana Shaukat Ali took the initiative in this matter and issued an appeal to the members of all the communities to attend a Conference at Simla. By the appeal that was issued it seemed that the clouds and storm that had gathered would soon disappear and a new united India would soon emerge. The leaders had explored the communal differences and the tendency on the part of the Hindus and Muslims to come to blows on trivial matters. It seemed that the persons who met at Simla were determined to achieve Hindu-Muslim concordant at any cost. The unity committee sat at Simla from 16th to 22nd September, 1927. No conclusion, however, was reached on some of the questions as music before mosques and cow sacrifice.

The main committee met on the 16th under Mr. Jinnah's Chairmanship. On the 18th, it appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Jairamdas, Rai Kedarnath of Delhi, Principal Diwanchand of Cawnpore, Sardul Singh, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Dr. Kitchlew. The sub-committee discussed on the 18th, the cow question. The main

committee discussed the music question on the 18th and 19th and also referred it to the sub-committee. The sub-committee sat from the 18th to 22nd. and submitted a report from which it appeared that agreements would be arrived at on these two questions.

Before dispersing the main committee issued the following appeal in the form of a resolution:—

> This committee is distressed to find that several Hindu-Muslim riots have occurred since it was constituted, leading to loss of many Hindu and Muslim lives and of property and inflicting much injury on many of our brethren. This committee earnestly appeals to all people and all men of light and leading throughout the country, to use their best endeavours to prevent such riots, to put an end to communal tension and to persuade their co-religionists not to take the law into their own hands even under provocation. It also appeals to the people to establish local unity boards for preventing disturbances, and to compose the difference and promote mutual goodwill.

The Muslim members deprecated the fact that the Hindu members of the Conference were selected with a view to represent a particular school of thought and had eliminated many other important and influential Hindus whose presence was sure to bring about a happy result. Even the President of the Congress was left out by the Hindu members. Secondly, the Hindu members who participated in it always avoided meeting Muslim leaders in private conferences which were arranged for them. They had not shown any zeal or enthusiasm and this ab-

sence of feeling was manifested throughout the conference. Unfortunately the meeting ended without any tangible result. The committee was adjourned vesting power in Mr. Jinnah as the President to convene the conference if he received proper requisition for it.

After the failure of Simla Conference Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, called another Unity Conference at Calcutta where the same question of cow slaughter and music before mosque was discussed. He appealed to the good sense of the members of both the communities to keep harmonious relations and avoid bitterness. Dr. Ansari placed before the conference both the Hindu and Muslim viewpoints with regard to the cow question and that relating to music before mosques. He recalled the days of Non-co-operation when there was absolutely no restriction on sacrifice of cows by the Hindus. The whole thing was left to the Mussalmans and, in his words, "At that time in Delhi we succeeded in our endeavours to reduce cow sacrifice from 700 to three or four." But in his opinion the Hindus tried to take undue advantage of their position in the Municipal and Local Boards and wanted to restrict the sacrifice of cows with the result that the Muslims pursued with vigour cow-sacrifice. Dr. Ansari failed to understand how cow-sacrifice on Id day in private houses could offend the Hindus. Such remarks had their effect and the situation seemed to improve. The Mussalmans were prepared to give an undertaking that they would only sacrifice cows in prescribed slaugh-

ter houses. As regards music question Dr. Ansari had already expressed his view before the conference and had shown that the Mussalmans only wanted that at their prayer time music be stopped from a certain distance. The appeal and the frankness of Dr. Ansari and the other leaders had a soothing effect on the Hindu mind. The result of these deliberations was that a committee was appointed with a view to tour the country to carry on a propaganda in connection with the work of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The Viceroy's Announcement

While Indian members were still exploring the avenues and seemed determined to find out a solution of the much vexed question. The Viceroy in a statement announced the appointment of the Statutory Commission on Reforms on the 8th November, 1927. The Commission was to be presided by the celebrated constitutional lawyer Sir John Simon and assisted by six other members of the Parliament. It was further announced that the object of the Commission was to elicit Indian opinion and for that purpose the Central Legislature was asked to appoint joint Select Committee "which would draw up its view and proposals and lay them before the Commission." It was further intended to adopt similar procedure in the case of the Provincial Legislatures. The Viceroy assured all the sections of the Indian people that after the publication of the Report and its examination on

the part of the British and Indian Governments, the Commission would present the proposals to Parliament which would afterwards be referred to a joint Parliamentary Committee. On the 15th November, the House of Lords passed the second reading of the Statutory Commission Bill, and on the 24th November Lord Birkenhead in moving the resolution on the Commission expressed his opinion to the effect that he regarded the Commission as an exceptionally intelligent jury coming to India with no preconceived prejudice. His Lordship emphasized the fact that the committee of the Indian Legislature had been invited in a spirit of great sincerity to co-operate as colleagues with the Commission and explained that the difficulty of finding truly representative Indians stood in the way of including them on the Commission. It was further announced that the cost of the Commission would be borne by the Indian Revenues but His Majesty's Government would contribute 20,000 pounds towards it. While every effort was being made in England and in India to make the Commission a success, an important section of the Labour Party began to express views on the Commission which werenot exactlycomplimentary. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru who was in England tried his level best to get the support of the Labourites but he miserably failed in his efforts. In India the announcement raised a veritable political storm. The exclusion of the Indians from the Commission was regarded as a grave insult to the intelligence of Indians and the intense feeling of being treated as a subject

race was once again revived. There was hardly any party in India which could be found to do honour to the Commission with the exception of a few Europeans, Anglo-Indians and a section of Mohammadans headed by Sir Mohammad Shafee in the Punjab. Otherwise, the whole of India stood as one man against the personnel and the proposed methods of the Commission.

Regarding the reasons for the opposition of the Mussalmans, Mr. Jinnah summed up the position in the following statement:—

> I consulted by wire a few prominent leaders in different parts of India with a view to adopt concerted action regarding the announcement of the Statutory Commission. The answers I received made it clear that owing to the provincial fixtures to which they were already committed in their respective provinces and having regard to distance a meeting at Bombay or any other central place at an early date was not feasible, although they emphasised the necessity of joint concerted action. As the question will soon be taken up by both the Houses of Parliament in England, I thought it was most essential that authoritative opinion of an all-India character should be expressed in time to reach London before the final decisions are taken by His Majesty's Government. I therefore circulated a draft manifesto, with a covering letter, requesting the various prominent leaders to authorise me on or before the 15th instant to include their names as signatories to the manifesto to be issued, if approved of by them.
>
> I am glad to say that I have received so far, the most powerful and influential support from all parts of India, from the foremost leaders of the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, the All-India Liberal Federation, the Federation of Indian Chambers

and the Mill-owner's Association. I have not included the names of leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha as I received a wire from Lala Lajpat Rai dated Lahore, 15th, as follows:—"Have wired to Mr. Jayakar, awaiting his reply" and subsequently a telegram from Mr. Jayakar dated Poona, 16th, which reads: "My party supports boycott, but prefers to issue its own statement. Copy posted to your address." I have not yet received a reply from Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia and Dr. Moonje.

I have not included the names of the President and President-elect of the Indian National Congress amongst the signatories to the manifesto, for reasons stated in their messages which speak for themselves and which are as follows:—

From Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar, dated Madras, 14th November.

"Your Manifesto omits self-determination and also, Assembly and Congress demand; concedes the need for an inquiry and proceeds solely on the need for a mixed Commission. Moreover, abstention is made qualified and conditional. The Congress Working Committee's resolutions and the Bengal and Madras manifestoes have adopted unconditional boycott. Regret cannot sign your present draft. Pray reconsider. Let us all stand together for simple abstention, each party keeping its reason to itself or stating all the reasons together."

From Dr. M. A. Ansari, Karnal, 15th November: "Agree with the draft joint statement, except the last sentence which should read 'unless a round table conference, in which British and Indian statesmen' would participate as plenipotentiaries, is invited or at least a Commission with majority of Indians sitting on equal terms is set up, we cannot conscientiously take any part or, share in the work of the Commission as at present constituted.

The other leaders of the Congress, who were consulted, adopted the same line. The manifesto and the names of the signatories are as below:—

'We have given the most anxious consideration the announcement made in the Houses of Parliament and the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy and the appeal of the Premier regarding the constitution and programme for the Statutory Commission. We have come to the deliberate conclusion that the exclusion of Indians from the Commission is fundamentally wrong, and that the proposals about Committees of Legislatures being allowed to submit their views to the Commission, and later to confer with the Joint Parliamentary committee, are wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of the case. The underlying principle of the scheme, that Indians are to have no authoritative voice either in the collection of proper materials and evidence or in the taking of decisions by way of recommendations of the Commission to Parliament, is of such a character that India cannot with any self-respect, acquiesce in it. Unless a Commission on which the British and Indian Statesmen are invited to sit on equal terms is set up we cannot conscientiously take any part or share in the work of the Commission as at present constituted.'

On the other hand Congress was preaching boycott of the Commission freely. It seemed from the general atmosphere prevailing in the country that the Hindu-Muslim unity was insisted upon. Dr. Ansari in his Presidential address at the Madras Congress, deprecated the position and remarked, "that the problem of Hindu-Muslim difference must be solved once and for all."

He got into touch with the leaders of public opinion in both the communities. He travelled

extensively all over the country to mobilise the good sense and active co-operation of both communities and, finally arranged a series of conversations at Delhi. It is a great tribute to the sincerity, zeal and indefatigable energy of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, that a formula for settlement of outstanding political differences was at last discovered. The Congress placed on record its appreciation of "the spirit of patriotism and statesmanship displayed by the Muslim leaders who rose above prejudice, suspicion and narrow communal outlook" in boldly coming forward with the proposals which presage "a new orientation of Muslim policy in India." The Working Committee, at a meeting held on the 15th May, "considered the proposals made by representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi on the 20th March last as well as the opinions of both communities," and submitted its report to the All-India Congress Committee, with the unanimous support of all the members present, including some of the foremost leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. This was a personal triumph for the President and his great powers of persuasion.

The result of these efforts is summed up in the two resolutions passed by the Unity Conference and adopted by the All-India Congress Committee:—

1. *Conversion*—The All-India Congress Committee resolves that every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuasion but no individual or group shall attempt to do so, or prevent its being done, by force, fraud or other unfair means such as the offering of material induce-

ment. Persons under eighteen years of age should not be converted unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person under eighteen years of age is found stranded without his parents or guardian by persons of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy as to the person, place, time or manner about any conversion or reconversion, nor should there be any demonstration or jubilation in support of any conversion or reconversion.

Whenever any complaint is made in respect of any conversion or reconversion, that it was effected in secrecy or by force, fraud or other unfair means, or whenever any person under eighteen years of age is converted, the matter shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators who shall be appointed by the Working Committee whether by name or under general regulations.

2. *Cow and Music*—The All-India Congress Committee, while approving of the following resolution on the Cow and Music question as a fair settlement of opposite demands and points-of-view, authorises members of the Congress to carry on propaganda among Hindus and Muslims along the lines indicated in the resolution and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a Sub-Committee for the purpose of carrying on such propaganda.

And further resolves that the resolution do come up for confirmation at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and the Congress to be held in Madras:—

Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality, be guaranteed to every community and person.

Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before any mosque at any time for religious or other purposes but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstration in front of a mosque nor shall the songs of music sung or played in front of a mosque be such as is calculated to cause annoyance or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosque.

Muslims are at liberty to sacrifice cows or, subject to existing municipal laws regulating the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, to slaughter cows, in any town or village, in any place not being a thoroughfare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a "Mandir" nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus.

Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deep-rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Muslim community is earnestly appealed to, so conduct the cow sacrifice or slaughter as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.

Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened, it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations and their decision shall be final.

Efforts at composing communal differences in the past were handicapped by attempts on the part of one community to impose restrictions on the enjoyment of its rights by the other. The result was that instead of removing mistrust and suspicion and creating a respect of each others' religious sentiments the solution generally led to a further intensification of the strife.

The Congress further decided to frame an independent constitution and desired to prepare

the constitution which would allay all the doubts and fears of different communities regarding their position and status in the political arrangement of the country. The Congress also decided to "organize public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade all shades of public opinion effectively to boycott the Commission." Speeches were also made in the Congress session on Hindu-Muslim unity and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appealed to lay the foundation of Hindu-Muslim Unity which she said "is the only guarantee of liberty and freedom of this dying race."

At a time when unity was most needed, when differences ought to have been sunk, when the present squabble ought to have been ignored, where party alliance ought to have given place to broader association, where narrow-mindedness ought to have been replaced by a broad vision and the whole of Muslim India ought to have stood united both against the Imperialism as such and the Congress which though outwardly was keeping a show of Hindu-Muslim Unity but in its entire working was behaving like the elder sister of Hindu Mahasabha, we come across, unfortunately, the many divisions amongst the Mussalmans. For some time past fears were rightly entertained about the split amongst the Muslims over the question of venue of the All-India Muslim League Sessions. Several efforts to bring about a compromise having failed the League held two sessions one in Calcutta and one in Lahore. The meeting which was held at Hakeem Ajmal Khan's place decided to have the annual session at Calcutta

and to change its former decisions. In pursuance of Delhi resolution the Muslim League had its session at Calcutta. After a lapse of many years Congress leaders including Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, were seen on the League dias. On the motion of Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Mohammad Yakub was elected and asked to preside over the session.

As regards co-operation with the Commission (Sir) Mohd. Yaqub said, that he was not a non-co-operator but had always been a co-operator, and it was as a co-operator that he would urge the Muslims to co-operate with the Government in the manner the Government had co-operated with them. Thus, as the Government did not want their co-operation on the Commission, so they would not offer co-operation and go near the commission. His religion did not teach the turning of the second cheek if one was smitten, but tit for tat.

Dealing next with the Hindu-Muslim quarrels, he did not wish to apportion blame, but their Prophet had left an example for them for guidance in his action in making a settlement with the Jews of Medina in the spirit of give and take. "This spirit of give and take should regulate their conduct," was the advice imparted by the League President. Unity would not mean the absorption of one community by another. They should, like a joint Hindu family, sit at home and mutually divide the property. Such action would win for them the respect of the outside world, but if they took recourse to litigation and decision by a third party, the world would condemn them for casting a blot on the fair names

of their ancestors. He pointed out that the Madras Congress settlement would be acceptable to 90 per cent. of enlightened and educated Mohammadans. The League should consider this settlement and declare its opinion on it, showing where it was acceptable and where they wanted its modification. They had been challenged to produce a constitution and had been taunted that if they were sincere in their declaration of readiness for Swaraj, they should produce a joint agreement. This challenge must be accepted and the Congress settlement should be examined and passed with whatever changes, were deemed desirable for, after all, it was not unchangeable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. When an agreement was reached on the settlement it would be entrusted to a special committee of Hindus and Muslims to draw up a constitution on the basis of the settlement. Thereafter a special meeting of the League could be summoned to ratify the Swaraj scheme.

The All-India Muslim League finally decided that it had nothing to do with the Commission in any state or in any form. Sir Ali Imam who proposed the resolution remarked that His Majesty's Government has given excuse after excuse for the exclusion of Indians. The Statutory bar had been first brought forward viz., that the Act conceived of a purely Parliamentary Commission though it did not say so in plain terms as Indians were not represented in Parliament. The exclusion of Indians was inevitable. The legal excuse could not, therefore, be taken as placing the just and

reasonable construction of law. Replying to Mr. Baldwin, who had called the Committee which was appointed by different legislatures as the Committee colleagues of the Commission, Sir Ali Imam said, "The position of the Select Committee would be that of witnesses. Is that partnership? Misuse of language cannot go further."

The All-India Muslim League also appointed a Committee to confer with the Working Committee of National Congress for drafting a constitution for India.

Sir Mohammad Shafee and his supporters were at the same time deliberating in Lahore in contravention of the constitution of the League. The Muslim League session at Calcutta made it clear that the responsibility of causing the split in the Mussalmans at this juncture of the country "must rest upon Sir Mohammad Shafee." The Muslim League dis-affiliated the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. Very soon it became clear that the intention for holding a separate session in Lahore was to lend support to Simon Commission and to strengthen the hands of Imperialism in India, for otherwise they had no chance of proving their loyalty and fidelity to the British. They never expected Mr. Jinnah and persons of his school of thought to lend their support and Mr. Jinnah soon announced that the "war has been declared on Britain."
To quote him further:

> Negotiations for a settlement are not to come from our side. Let the Government sue for peace. We are denied equal partnership. We will resist the new

> doctrine to the best of our power. Jallianwala Bagh was physical butchery. Simon Commission is the butchery of our soul.

The unauthorized League session which was held in Lahore lent its support to Simon Commission and condemned the Delhi proposals for joint electorate. It went further ahead and declared Sir Mohammad Shafee as a President in place of Mr. Jinnah. The climax had been reached and the events were fast approaching to a crisis. Very soon the League supporters of Lahore were to appear in their true colours. The Muslim League was determined not to sacrifice the Muslim cause either at the altar of the British Government or of the Congress.

CHAPTER XII

THE SIMON AND NEHRU REPORT AND THE R. T. C.

The Statutory Commission which was to report to the Parliament on the reforms to be given to India was appointed in 1927 (vide Royal Warrant of November 26), and Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, while speaking in the House of Lords the same month on the appointment of the Commission threw a challenge to the Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution for India, acceptable to all the parties concerned. No sooner was the announcement made regarding the Statutory Commission and the exclusion of Indian members from it, all the political parties in India condemned it. The All India Muslim League which held its deliberations in Calcutta had already passed a resolution recommending Hindu-Muslim unity on the lines laid down by the Unity Conference and had also urged the boycott of the Simon Commission. Towards the end of December was held at Madras the annual session of the Indian National Congress presided over by Dr. M. A. Ansari. By virtue of a resolution adopted, the Executive was directed to convene an All-India All-Parties Conference with a view to

draw up a constitution for India, acceptable to all parties. It was here that the goal of India was declared to be complete independence. The Congress took up the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, and the idea to convene the All-Parties Conference was the faithful translation of the determination to prepare a united constitution.

The resolution about independence was undoubtedly unanimous but after the Congress session was over, Mr. Gandhi declared that it had been "hastily conceived and thoughtlessly passed." Lala Lajpat Rai said that it was passed "because many people believed that Dominion Status also meant complete National Independence."

The Commission arrived in India in February 1928. Demonstrations, with great placards inscribed "Simon Go Back," were shown everywhere and public enthusiasm was at its height. The boycott of the Commission was complete. The Government both at home and in India was much perturbed by this wall of opposition and realized that all its schemes were frustrated. Lord Birkenhead on 17th February 1928, dwelling on the Simon Commission, referred to the criticism of the non-inclusion of Indians in the Commission and remarked that he was satisfied that the only form of Commission which was possible was the one that he had recommended. Regarding the boycott His Lordship remarked, "that those who delude themselves in India with the impression that by boycotting the Commission they can defeat its purpose, are living in a world that has no contact

with reality."

Soon after their arrival Sir John Simon as the Chairman of the Commission, issued a statement in the form of a letter to the Viceroy giving the procedure to be adopted by the Commission, and the letter suggested a joint free conference between the members of the Commission and that of Indian Legislatures. Sir John Simon incidentally tried to allay the fears and resentment which the Indian politicians had expressed. He assured that "the Commission is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King-Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of members of Parliament who approach the Indian Legislatures as colleagues." The statement of Sir John Simon was subjected to very careful examination and, indeed, anxious consideration by the leaders of all parties at a Conference held in New Delhi on the 7th February 1928. After a good deal of discussion, all the leaders came to an absolutely unanimous and unequivocal decision and repeated their declaration and advice that India should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form. On the 20th February, Mr. Jinnah, in collaboration with his colleagues in the Assembly, issued a statement regarding the decision boycotting Simon Commission, in the course of which he said:

> We have given our utmost consideration to the announcement made by H. E. the Viceroy, the speeches in Parliament made by the Secretary of State, the Prime

Minister and others, and to the speech made by Lord Birkenhead on various occasions since the debate in Parliament. They do not disclose any equality of status or power or opportunities to Indian Committees. The two letters of Sir John Simon addressed to the Viceroy and to Sir Sankaran Nair, laying down the line of procedure have made it abundantly clear that in truth no such equality is vouchsafed to Indian Committees. The recording of some evidence in camera, the inability of Indian members to vote at the proceedings of the Commission, the power reserved to the Chairman to allow or not to allow members of the Central Committee to examine the witnesses in province, and the secondary place assigned to the Indian Committee's report, make it abundantly plain that the Committees can at best play a subordinate part......For these reasons those parties which would, under conditions of equality of status, power and opportunities, have agreed to work in co-operation with the Commission, have felt it their duty to hold aloof from the Commission. The Congress Party has always stood out for a Round Table Conference, and it is obvious that it could not be expected to agree to a Commission of such a character.

We feel, therefore, that the responsibility for the situations so created must rest (1) on the Government of India (2) the British Government and (3) the Commission.

In the circumstances, we appeal to public men of all parties and to all political organisations in India to unite together (1) in settling sectional or communal differences, which we have every confidence will be settled soon to the satisfaction of all parties (2) to prepare a draft constitution with the maximum amount of agreement, and to adopt it at a Convention and (3) to work for its establishment.

We also appeal to the Legislative Councils of the United Provinces, Bengal, Bombay, Punjab and Behar

and Assam to follow the example of the Legislative Assembly, and of the Central Provinces and Madras. We dare not appeal to the Council of State.

The boycott of the Commission was so complete that Lord Irwin's Governmnet was in a difficulty and failed to hammer out any scheme either by threat or by cajolery which could wean the Indians from the path they were already traversing. There were certain Muslims in the Punjab who fully availed of this opportunity and were in the forefront to welcome the Commission.

The position of the Muslim League was curious. The large majority of Muslim members of the League were under the influence and leadership of Mr. Jinnah, while the Shafian group of the Punjab was bent upon creating impediment and snatching the leadership from the hands of Mr. Jinnah. Even Lord Oliver had to admit that "outside of the Mohammadan India which is divided, all Indian political leaders and practically all politicians of the Reform Movement are filled with a spirit of hostile distress towards all the British Parties equally." But while the Indian politicians were presenting a united front against the Simon Commission they had not ignored the task that they had taken upon themselves. In compliance with the directions contained in the Madras Congress resolution, the Working Committee of the Congress issued invitations to a large number of organizations. Many of these organizations sent representatives to the Conference which held its first meeting on 12th Feby. 1928 at Delhi. The first question discussed

by the Conference was the objective to aim at in the constitution. It was proposed that the constitution should aim at establishing what is called a dominion form of Government in India. Some more important matters were referred to a small Committee appointed for the same purpose. Meanwhile the Council of the Muslim League met and expressed its disapproval of the resolutions of the All-Parties Conference. The Council further laid down that its representatives "should press the representatives of various organizations to accept the proposals embodied in the resolutions of the League session of 1927, held at Calcutta and report the final result to the Council for such action as they consider proper before proceeding with the framing of the Constitution." This resolution of the Muslim League Council created a difficulty for the Conference. Its adoption was necessitated for some of the intelligent people in the Muslim League had already noticed the changed attitude of the members of the Congress who in their hearts of heart were happy to see divisions and rift in the Muslim League. The League's position was clear. Mr. Jinnah had certainly gone out of his way to placate the Hindus and was prepared to accept joint electorate with the reservation of seats, in spite of the fact that the bulk of his Muslim members would not acquiesce to it. But after the meeting of the All-Parties Conference, the Muslim League was forced to take the decision that it was not prepared to consider the report of the Committee so long as the proposals of the Muslim League had not been accepted in their totality

or the League Council was not consulted again. The Conference met again on the appointed date and it was realized that the Muslim League Council had upset the shrewdest of the brains. The report of the committee appointed on 22nd February could not be considered owing to the decision of the Muslim League representatives not to take part in the discussion. The Conference adjourned without taking any decision. Soon after this the Hindu Mahasabha repudiated all the rightful claims of the Mussalmans and showed definite signs of hostility towards legitimate Muslim proposals. The Muslim League representatives had to consider the whole position very seriously before they could agree to any suggestion in the Conference which was fixed for Bombay. Owing to the divergence of opinion, it was decided to entrust the task of framing the constitution to a small Committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. Under the terms of its appointment it was called upon to give the fullest consideration to a number of resolutions passed by various organizations, some of them being opposed to each other. The Committee submitted its Report and suggested some far-reaching changes in the working of the constitution. Regarding the communal problem of India which, in the opinion of the Committee, was primarily the Hindu-Muslim problem, the Committee suggested some radical changes in the method of elections and other interests. In the opinion of the Committee, the communal problem so far as its political aspect was concerned resolved itself into the question

of joint electorate with reservation of seats, the separation of Sindh, the form of Government in N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan. Regarding the method of representation, the Committee suggested that "separate electorate must, therefore, be discarded completely as an out precedent to any rational system of representation we can only have joint or mixed electorates." Regarding the form of Government in N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan, the Committee agreed to place them on the same status with other Provinces. Unfortunately the question of Sindh remained a bone of contention between the Hindus and Mussalmans. The Muslim League had refused to give any considered opinion on the question of representation and the method of election. The Committee also suggested proportionate representation for some time as an experiment. The Committee did not see the force of argument for any reservation of seats for Muslims in the Punjab and in Bengal but in the Provinces where the Mussalmans were in a small minority and as a result of it the Muslims who formed nearly one-fourth of total population of British India would not be able to capture one-tenth seats in the Legislature. The same fears were expressed regarding the Legislatures of the Provinces where the Muslims were in small minority. Therefore, the Committee had to recommend reservation of seats "in proportion to their population both in Central and Provincial Legislatures." It further observed:

> The retention of communal representation to this extent for some time to come is in our opinion a neces-

sary evil. It will be seen that by making this concession in favour of Muslim minorities we are not introducing anomalies arising out of reservation of seats for majorities. A minority remains a minority whether any seat are reserved or not and cannot dominate the majority.

It is of course physically impossible to reserve a larger proportion of seats to Muslim minorities than their population would justify but, apart from the obvious injustice of such a course not only to the majorities but to the other minorities as well, it will in our opinion be harmful to the development of Muslims themselves on national lines. We have allowed them their full share on the population basis by reservation and any thing over and above that share they must win by their own effort......Muslims cannot reasonably claim reservation of seats beyond their strict proportion to population along with the right to contest additional seats and the question for them to consider is which of the two is likely to be of greater advantage to them. We have no doubt that when they carefully weigh the pros and cons of the reservation of a large number of seats than they are entitled to on the population basis without the right to exceed that number against the pros and cons of reservation in proportion to their population with the right to contest as many more seats as they like, they will find that the latter is by far the better choice.

Regarding the Muslim demands for the reservation of one-third of seats in the Central Legislature, the Committee remarked:

The principle we have adopted is that wherever such reservation has to be made for the Muslim minority it must be in strict proportion to its population. The Muslims are a little less than one fourth of the total population of the British India and they cannot be

allowed reservation over and above the proportion in the Central Legislature.

Mr. Shuab Qurashi did not agree with these arguments and the conclusions drawn therefrom. He was definitely of the opinion that "one-third of the seats in the Central legislature should be reserved for the Muslims."

Seemingly indifferent or acting on the principles that ignorance on such occasions was the best course to be adopted, the Simon Commission acted in a hostile manner. All the opposition and the boycott had no effect upon them. The Commission started its work. Various Committees of Provincial Legislative Council were set up with the official support to give evidence before the Commission and mostly officials were examined. This Commission sitting with the central and provincial committees styled 'the joint free conference' commenced its work in such an atmosphere. Sir Mohammad Shafee, who had seceded from the League and had formed another organization but had retained the name of "All-India Muslim League" led a deputation and insisted on separate electorates for the Mussalmans. A definite cleavage had thus resulted between the two sections. While Sir Mohammad Shafee and people of his school of thought were doing their level best to co-operate with the Simon Commission, another group led by Maharaja of Mahmudabad was organising hostile demonstration against the Commission. Recalling this incident, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in his address at the Congress session, remarked:

> We know that the house of the great Nationalist nobleman of Oudh, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad was surrounded with a cordon of police while his reactionary compeers were entertaining the Commission in a neighbouring park. The Maharaja, as is well-known, bravely stands for the boycott of the Commission and has refused to take part in any function given in its honour. Where is the liberty of the ordinary citizen when the premier Baron of Oudh, a retired Home Member of the U. P. Government, decorated by it with the highest honours in its gift, can be imprisoned in his own house, simply because he holds an opinion disliked by the Government?

The Committee set up by Bombay resolution of the League had already presented its Report which was subsequently considered in Lucknow but was postponed till after the Congress session in Calcutta where it was decided to consider and adopt it with amendments if necessary. The Muslim League convened its 20th session at Calcutta and on the eve of momentous changes in India. Of enormous significance were the League deliberations. It was extremely painful to note that forces were at work to divide the political strength of the Mussalmans of India at a time when vital interests, both of the community and the country, required solid unity. The Maharaja of Mahmudabad was elected President. The Maharaja was an ardent supporter of the Nehru Report and had crossed the 'floor' in Lucknow and had joined the Nehru group, leaving behind, his old friend and colleague Mr. Jinnah, but he was not utterly unmindful of the interests of the Mussalmans for he remarked in his address:

> For a sane and sensible Indian democracy which has in the taint of sectarianism, and the majority, because it has the weight and power of majority, to descend to the lower level of dominating a minority is a negation of the principles of equal citizenship which is after all the very essence of a democratic rule. The apprehensions and misgivings of the minority are not unnatural and it is an obligation cast upon the majority to remove such doubts and fears.

The Convention in which the Muslim League was requested to take part was a subject of heated discussion. Mr. Chagla (Bombay) moved a resolution to the effect that representatives on behalf of the Muslim League should go to the Convention. He made it clear that Mussalmans would be guided by the Calcutta decisions and they would consider the Nehru Report in the light of Muslim interests. Accordingly, a strong representative body was elected to take part in the deliberations of the Convention. Lately an effort had been made by a section of the Muslims to form another organization and for that purpose an All-Parties Muslim conference was convened in Delhi. It also extended its invitation to the Muslim League but the Muslim League declined to accept the invitations as the formation of another organisation such as the Muslim Conference was, in its view, detrimental to Muslim interests at a time of great crisis. The League felt that it was the duty of the patriotic Muslims to rally round the League at such an important juncture. The Convenors of the Conference further challenged the credentials of the League as the representative body of the Muslims. His High-

ness the Agha Khan was asked to preside over the session of the Delhi Conference. He appealed for solidarity and unity and asserted the claims of the Mussalmans for separate electorates. The Muslim League was deliberating in Calcutta and sent twenty representatives to take part in the proceedings of the Convention. The Congress had already decided that:

> Subject to the exigencies of political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organize a campaign of non-violence and non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and any such other matter as may be decided upon.

Mr. Gandhi who was the mover of this resolution advised the people to approve of the constitution and also issued his threats to the British Government at the same time. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose led the opposition, contending that the adoption of Dominion Status was a flagrant breach of the resolution already passed in Madras in favour of complete independence. A heated discussion took place, and it seemed for a time that Mr. Gandhi had a defeat for him in store. In replying to the debate Mr. Gandhi vehementally denounced those who accused with justification the Congress for going back on its own words and said:

> If you are not prepared to stand by your own words where will independence be? Independence is after all a thing made of sterner stuff. It is not made by wriggling of words. I suggest that if you want to vindi-

> cate the honour of this nation, because the Viceroy insults us or the President of European Chamber insults us, we say, we want our independence because we want to vindicate our honour......then you are dragging independence into the mire.

It was with great difficulty that the resolution was passed. The trouble for Mr. Gandhi did not end there.

Maulana Mohammad Ali in the Convention did put up a gallant fight for independence and he criticised the psychology of those who argued that Dominion Status was only a temporary phase and that afterwards they would get independence. This policy he characterised as a policy of the coward and not of the fighter.

After the announcement of the Muslim League to take part in the deliberations, the Convention appointed a Committee with a view to carry on discussions with the representatives of the Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee. Mr. Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, moved that one-third of the elected representatives of both the houses of the Central Legislature should be Mussalmans. The Committee could not arrive at any agreement on this point.

Summing up the whole position Mr. Jinnah said:

> It really comes to this that Nehru Report makes a gift of the extra seats over and above population basis to the Punjab and Bengal; whereas, we propose that this extra 7 or 8 seats should be distributed amongst the minority Muslim Provinces.

Our next proposal is that in the event of the adult suffrage not being established, Punjab and Bengal also should have seats reserved on population basis for the Mussalmans. But they should not have the right to contest for more.

I am not going to enter into the pros and cons but it is an admitted fact that although the Mussalmans in Punjab and Bengal are numerically in the majority, their voting strength is far below in proportion to their population and they, therefore, would not secure sufficient representation and it is feared that under those circumstances their representation will be far below their population. It is now devised to meet this undoubted fact by the Nehru proposals and the Report proposes the substitute of adult franchise and from those premises it is argued that there is no need for reservation in Punjab and Bengal; but we wish to provide for the contingency which is most patent and probable that in the event of the adult suffrage not being established there should be reservation for Mussalmans in Punjab and Bengal according to their population, but they should not be entitled to additional seats. And we therefore attach very great importance to this modification.

Our next proposal is that the form of the constitution should be federal with residuary power vesting in the Provinces and Clause 13A in the Supplementary Nehru Report is most pernicious and should be deleted and the whole constitution should be revised on the basis of provincial Governments having the residuary power vested in them, and subject to that, there should be revision of the schedules laying down central and provincial subjects as embodied in the Nehru Report. This question is by far the most important from the constitutional point of view and the future development of India and has very little to do with the communal aspect......

With regard to the question of separation of Sind

and the N. W. F. Provinces, we cannot agree that they should await until the Nehru Constitution is established with adult suffrage.

Replying to his critics, Mr. Jinnah said that "every country struggling for freedom and desirous of establishing a democratic system of Government has had to face the problem of minorities wherever they existed, and no constitution, however idealistic it may be, and however perfect from theoretical point of view it may seem, will ever receive the support of the minorities unless they can feel that they as an entity, are secured under the proposed constitution and government, and whether a constitution will succeed or not must necessarily depend as a matter of acid test whether the minorities are in fact secure." He pleaded hard that the Hindus and Mussalmans "have got to be reconciled and united and made to feel that their interests are common and they are marching together with for a common goal." He finally added: "Believe me there is no progress for India until the Mussalmans and Hindus are united and let no logic philosophy or squabble stand in the way of our coming to a compromise and nothing will make me more happy than to see the Hindu Muslim Union."

All the amendments with the exception of the two which were of minor importance, moved by Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League were negatived and those who had expressed their fears that the Hindus wanted to dominate Muslims by sheer force of their numbers showed it in practice.

The result was disappointing in the extreme. There was a lull in all the circles of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah who presided in the absence of Maharaja of Mahmudabad adjourned the session with instructions "to summon the session at such place and time as the Council may think suitable before the end of May 1929." Mr. Jinnah invited the members of the Muslim Council to an informal conference to consider the situation created by the Convention refusing the demands put forth on behalf of the Mussalmans. In Delhi the Muslim Conference was deliberating and there was a strong feeling against Nehru Report. Maulana Mohammad Ali had joined the Conference on his return from Calcutta after recording his opposition to Dominion Status which in his opinion was adopted to reconcile the Liberals. Thus the Convention, instead of fighting the Simon Commission, had relegated itself to the arms of the Commission. Nothing had been done to reconcile the Muslims; instead they were accused of communalism. In view of the treatment meted out to the untouchables, to their own kith and kin, how was it possible for Mussalmans to trust the Hindus? The Nehru Report had thus created a piquant situation, and everywhere Mussalmans, either in the Muslim League or under the guidance of the Muslim Conference, were deliberating as to the future course to be adopted, for safeguarding their interests. The Session of the Muslim League in Calcutta was adjourned as unanimity on certain principles was wanting. The Muslims presented a sorry spectacle of disunity. Several

attempts were made to bridge the gulf, and at last the opportunity came when Mr. Jinnah, on behalf of the League, invited the members of Delhi Conference to the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. The difficulty was that every section wanted its point of view to prevail. The Delhi Muslim Conference section wanted the All-India Muslim League to adopt en block the Delhi Conference resolutions and force the issue to ahead. On the other hand, the section of the All-India Muslim League wished to defer a decision till the special session of the League. The third section was keen on compromise. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that in substance there was very little difference between the resolutions of Delhi Conference and that of the Calcutta session of the League because both had given up separate electorates on the condition that their interests were safeguarded. After a heated discussion, Mr. Jinnah was authorised to negotiate with the representatives of the various groups of League "regarding the form which the Muslim demands should take and to place an agreed formula before the League session. It was decided to call the special session of the League in Delhi. Accordingly, the session was fixed and on the eve of the open session, Mr. Jinnah circulated among the members a brief history of the controversy on the communal settlement since 1924. (History of the Origin of "Fourteen points" by M. A. Jinnah).

Mr. Jinnah then prepared the draft of resolution to accommodate the various points of view in regard to the policy and programme of the Mus-

lim League and its attitude to the forthcoming constitutional reforms. The resolution was very comprehensive and tried as far as possible to take the line chalked out by the League previously. It runs thus:

> Whereas the basic idea on which the All Parties Conference was called in being and a Convention summoned at Calcutta during Christmas Week 1928, was that a scheme of reforms should be formulated and accepted and ratified by the foremost political organisations in the country as a National Pact; and whereas the Report was adopted by the Indian National Congress only constitutionally for the one year ending 31st December 1929, and in the event of the British Parliament not accepting it within the time limit, the Congress stands committed to the policy and programme of complete independence by resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes: and whereas the attitude taken up by the Hindu Maha Sabha from the commencement through their representatives at the Convention was nothing short of an ultimatum, that, if a single word in the Nehru Report in respect of the communal settlement was changed they would immediately withdraw their support to it; and whereas the National Liberal Federation delegates at the Convention took up an attitude of benevolent neutrality, and subsequently in their open session at Allahabad, adopted a non-committal policy with regard to the Hindu-Muslim differences; and whereas the non-Brahmin and depressed classes are entirely opposed to it; and whereas the reasonable and moderate proposals put forward by the delegates of the all India Muslim League at the Convention in modification were not accepted, the Muslim League is unable to accept the Nehru Report.
>
> "The League after anxious and careful consideration most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no

scheme for the future constitution of the government of India will be acceptable to Mussalmans of India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests:—

(1) The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

(3) All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every Province without reducing the majority in any Province to a minority or even equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature, Mussalman representation shall not be less than one third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present: provided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way, affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N. W. F. Province.

(7) Full religious liberty i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and

practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(11) Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share along with the other Indians, in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by the State and by local self-governing bodies.

(13) No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation. The draft resolution also mentions an alternative to the above provision in the following terms:

That, in the present circumstances, representation of Mussalmans in the different legislatures of the country and other elected bodies through the separate electorates is inevitable and further, the Government being pledged over and over again not to disturb this franchise so granted to the Muslim community since 1909 till such time as the Mussalmans chose to abandon it, the Mussalmans will not consent to joint electorates unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province and reforms in fact are introduced in the N. W. F. Province and Balu-

chistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

> Further, it is provided that there shall be reservation of seats according to the Muslim population in the various provinces; but where Mussalmans are in a majority they shall not contest more seats than their population warrants.
>
> The question of excess representation of Mussalmans over and above their population in Provinces where they are in a minority is to be considered hereafter.

On the eve of the open session of the League. serious differences cropped up in the League ranks. The point of discussion was about the eligibility of certain members of the Council who were admitted in the last meeting of the League Council. Those supporting the Nehru Report challenged this and tried to create disturbances. The other group which belonged to Sir Shafee, met under the Presidentship of Sir Abdul Qadir, and selected seven delegates to meet the representatives of the Jinnah League to bring about an understanding. Another section which belonged to the Delhi Muslim Conference also discussed the draft resolution prepared by Mr. Jinnah. The majority of the members were agreeable to the draft with some modifications. The Council of the League refused to consider the request of the delegation which was appointed by the supporters of Sir Mohammad Shafee, as it would mean their recognizing a rival organization. However, privately conversations were continued. No understanding was arrived at as that section wished the principle of separate electorates to be conceded beforehand. However, it was declared that in case

Mr. Jinnah's draft was accepted by the League, those who had seceded would once again come back. The Council of All-India Muslim League appointed a committee of the following seven men—(1) Mr. Jinnah (2) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (3) Maulana Mohd. Ali (4) Malik Berkat Ali (5) Nawab Ismail Khan (6) Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan (7) Dr. Saif Uddin Kitchlew, to consider Mr. Jinnah's draft resolutions and to report on the next day when the League session began.

This Committee was thus representative of all the four sections. The League session was presided over by Mr. Jinnah, who appealed to every Mussalman to set aside personal differences, and finally remarked:

> Are you or are you not going to formulate your policy and programme as regards the future constitution of the Government of India? If you are going to command any responsibility, if your decisions are going to command any weight, if you wish the will of Muslim India to be registered, then it can only be accomplished by a united decision.

Unfortunately Mr. Jinnah's appeal and his efforts could not bring about any reconciliation.

The open session of the League was due to meet in the morning. Mr. Jinnah was busy conferring with the various representatives who had assembled for this purpose at Hakeem Ajmal Khan's residence. The supporters of the Nehru Report who were sent to the League for the sole purpose of getting the Nehru Report accepted, in their enthusiasm did not wait for Mr. Jinnah and proposed Dr. Moham-

mad Alam to take the Chair. This was the signal for scenes of disturbance. The audience rose almost to a man and a number of them waived their hands and sticks to show that they did not want Dr. Alam as President. Dr. Alam, however, in this pandemonium, called upon Mr. Abdul Rahman Ghazi to move his main resolution which he did amidst shouts and yells without a speech, and Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani seconded without speech, and soon after this Dr. Mohd. Alam was heard declaring it passed and desolved the session. Just at this moment Mr. Jinnah returned and once again pindrop silence prevailed. Mr. Jinnah decided to adjourn this session and thus averted a great trouble.

One thing about which most of the League leaders were determined was to keep the Mussalmans aloof from the bounteous feast spread before them by Pandit Motilal Nehru. The Mussalmans had lost confidence in the bonafides of Swarajist's politicians. The Mussalmans were convinced that after 10 years when even the monstrously inadequate representation of the community in the provincial legislatures by that undemocratic, and thoroughly deceptive system which is dignified by the title of separate representation by reservation of seats, is taken away, there will be not a single Muslim left in the provincial legislature. Muslims will become hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters. There would be no difference between their position and that which was accorded to the Irish Catholic by the statute of the Irish Parliament of 1695. The Nehru Report was a

result of one-sided view of Pandit Motilal Nehru and his Hindu myrmidons, so far as the Muslims of India were concerned. The chameleon-like attitude which Pandit Motilal Nehru assumed had not helped the cause which he had so much at heart much less the greater, nobler and truer cause of our common motherland. Nehru felt that to sustain his party the only thing was to imbibe the new doctrines of communal Nationalism and to do away with the separate electorate. The Nehru Report had become an eye-sore for the whole of the country. It deprived the Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the Christians, the Mussalmans and most of others of the rights which were solemnly promised and guaranteed to them in the Act. Such a disregard of the elementary rights of Minorities was not done even by the French Revolutionaries. Bolshevism acted on a different principle. Instead of destroying the Minorities, they safeguarded them. In Samarkand and Bukhara, there is ample protection. Tartars and the Turks enjoy freedom which they never enjoyed before. This is acknowledged even by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his work on Bolshevic Russia. Not only did the Report deprive the communities, races and interests of India of their immemorial rights, it also produced a monster designated by the term Central Government which was to swallow Provinces, Indian States, individual religious, racial rights, law, liberty and order, at one gulp. Never in India did such a document prepared by so many able men prove to be so howling failure. No event in the history of India created

greater disunion than the publication of the Nehru Report. The Nehru Committee, at one stroke of pen, destroyed Muslim's right of separate representation by substituting for it mixed electorates unaccompanied by any redeeming or compensating features, knowing as it did that no Muslim who failed to placate the majority of Hindu electors could ever have a chance of success. Though a few carpet-knights, political malcontents from the Muslim camp were pressed into service to support the Nehru Report, the vast bulk of the thinking Mussalmans saw through the game and realized that it was a scheme savouring of the Shuddhee and Sanghatan movements. It was a pity that Pandit Nehru by short-sightedness fell into the trap of the Mahasabha and thus, in the absence of the goodwill and the co-operation of the Mussalmans, gave a tremendous blow to the cause of India's advance at the most critical moment, in its history. Muslim opposition to this ill-fated scheme was in its deeper significance the most nationalising effort made to give to the country a constitution that would for all times to come secure in support of the national state, the intelligent cooperation of all sections of the population. The scheme of giving to an ungenerous majority an unrestricted sway over the dynamic minority was a blunder of the first magnitude, was sure to bring disaster to the national state within a year of its existence. Muslim opposition was, therefore, based on genuine reasons. The Mussalmans had lost faith in their Hindu brethren and no amount of pious fraud practised

in the name of Nationalism could induce the Muslim minority to risk its existence by giving a blank cheque to the majority whose very superior manoeuvres and dialectics alike failed to lull into sleep the great dangers that the Nehru Report aroused as to the intents and purposes of its authors. Instead of appreciating the point of view of Minorities and safeguarding their legitimate interests, the Nehru Committee adopted measures which were calculated to dislodge them from every position of power and prestige. In their enthusiasm to formulate a constitution, Pandit Motilal Nehru and his comrades forgot the lessons of other countries. They wanted to create a constitution overnight. They did not care to study the lucid, clear and limpid account of the negotiations with the Dutch, Boers and others, carried on before the British Parliament passed the Union of South Africa Act. They did not start with the clean slate. They knew that the economic, political, ethnographic and other differences were too deeply rooted to be sacrificed on the altar of metaphysical chimeras. Several years before the passing of the Union of South Africa Act by the British Parliament, the studies and observations of various prominent political persons were published in a most illuminating book. The "Round Table" group which was associated with this enterprise thus prepared the way for the Union.

In Canada, precisely the same methods were applied. The French minority wished to safeguard its interests. The great Canadian statesman, Sir

John Macdonald, conceded every point, and secured the unanimous support of the French minority. His great speech on the subject in March 1867, will show how conciliatory the British Canadians were in their dealings with the French Minority, and therefore it was no use resorting to hair splitting and petty squabble, and as he said "these are big questions and they can be settled only by the exercise of the highest order of statesmanship and political wisdom." He acted accordingly, but in India the case was absolutely otherwise. Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the Assembly, and his advocacy in the Convention were treated with scant courtesy and his demands were rejected by the Hindu majority. And yet they wanted to produce an agreed constitution wherein the interest of the Minorities would also be represented!

Meanwhile, the Simon Commission was touring the country, examining everywhere the officials of the Government and non-officials who hardly commanded the confidence of the respective communities to which they belonged. The Committees submitted their own recommendations to the Simon Commission. Apart from the intrinsic value to these documents, the most clear and lucid exposition of Muslim claims was put forth by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his explanatory note which he submitted along with the report of the Committee.

The Muslims were asked to sign their death warrant by acquiescing in the recommendations of the Nehru Report. The Mussalmans had followed the Hindu leaders on many occasions because of

sincere and genuine patriotic feelings. The Nehru Report revived bad memories. Nowhere in the world caste system is so deep-rooted as in India, with the results that ever since the introduction of democratic system in India, the Pandits and Brahmans monopolised all the offices, a fact so startling that an inquirer from the West, with the sacred word 'Democracy' on his lips, will be bewildered to see how the system actually works. Whenever any Muslim takes up question of the rights of the Mussalmans, the whole Congress in conjunction with Mahasabha pounces upon him with the remarks of communalist, while Mussalmans are fighting on the principle for which the American colonies fought England in the 18th century. They said "No taxation without representation" and so do the Muslims in India. The practical experience of the Mussalmans was that in the working of joint electorates in the elections of Local Bodies, the cry that "Cow is in danger" was introduced from the start of the election campaign which invariably led to the elimination of the Muslim candidates, and the Hindus not only secured a dominating voice, but they almost excluded the Mussalmans from securing their proper representation. Support for this view is furnished by the evidence before the Muddiman Committee of Mr. (later Sir) C. R. Chintamani, ex-Minister of U. P. Government, who declared that the extension of sepatate electorates for the District Boards of the U. P. had removed one cause of friction.

Meanwhile, the Government of India were

actively in touch with Whitehall. Every one expected that on his return Lord Irwin would be in a position to make a definite announcement regarding the future course. On 31st October, 1939, H. E. the Viceroy, on behalf of the Government announced:

> When, therefore, the Commission and the Indian Central Committee have submitted their reports, and these have been published and when His Majesty's Government have been able, in consultation with the Government of India, to consider these matters in the light of all the materials then available, they will propose to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India and representatives of the Indian States to meet them, separately or together as circumstances may demand, for the purpose of a conference and discussion in regard both to the British Indian and the All-Indian problems. It will be their earnest hope that by this means it may subsequently prove possible on these grave issues to submit proposals to Parliament which may command a wide measure of general assent.

The announcement had a mixed reception. The Viceroy convened a meeting of leaders of both the communities, but the discussion was limited to the function of the proposed Conference in London. The Conference failed and "it was pointed out that any member of the Conference would be free to advocate any proposal and that any measure of unanimity with the Conference would necessarily carry weight with British opinion." In spite of the heavy reverses which the supporters of Nehru Report had received they had not lost hopes of creating mischief. In July, Maulana Abul Kalam

Azad convened a Conference of the so-called Nationalist Muslims. Mr. Khaliquzzaman moved a tentative resolution and, as a result of discussions, another party in the country came out and made efforts to enlist support for the Nehru Report from the platform of Muslim Nationalists' Conference. But the Muslims of Bombay nipped the mischief in the bud. The Mussalmans made it clear that they could not accept the Nehru Report and laid down their own conditions. Maulana Mohd. Ali who, with some others, opposed the Nehru Report, said in regard to the efforts of the Nationalist Muslims :

> Only a few months back he had returned to his unfortunate home after an extensive tour in Europe and Asiatic country. Nowhere in the world did he hear the cry of Hindu water and Hindu tea except in India and yet these very people accuse Muslims as separatists...... We are depicted in the Hindu and the so-called Nationalist press as shirkers of our duty and responsibility even by men who have never made any sacrifice. The records of 1919 and 1926, bear witnesses to the courage and sacrifices of Mussalmans and yet to-day when we demand our rights, monopolists turn round, abuse and misrepresent us. We had accepted the Madras resolution of Independence as our goal. Compare that with what Nehru Report offered us. It is only meant to perpetuate slavery and Hindu domination.

The independence resolution though carried out in Lahore session of the Congress was in fact a compromise.

In the words of Mr. Bose:

> Altogether the Lahore Congress was a great victory for the Mahatma. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one of

> the most prominent spokesmen of the Left-wing, was won over by him and the others were excluded from the Working Committee. The Mahatma could henceforward proceed with his own plans without fear of opposition within his own Cabinet and whenever any opposition was raised outside his Cabinet, he could always coerce the public threatening to retire from the Congress or to fast unto death. From his personal point of view, it was the cleverest move with a subservient Cabinet. It was possible for him to conclude the Pact with Lord Irwin in March, 1931, to have himself appointed as the sole representative to the Round Table Conference, to conclude the Poona Agreement in September 1932, and do other acts which have done considerable disservice to the public cause.

India's independence was declared by observing Independence Day. Having failed to achieve his objective, Mr. Gandhi was definitely of the opinion, because of the current of the events and the forces in the country, to start a kind of Civil Disobedience but while starting the civil disobedience campaign, he wanted to leave the door open for a compromise, and he realised the independence resolution of the Congress might prove to be a stumbling block. He also felt that some of the wealthy supporters the Indian capitalists were alarmed at the resolution of the Lahore conference. Some sort of explaining away was therefore necessary. Particularly in view of the fact that word 'Independence' implied severance of the British connection. On January 30, he issued a statement in his paper *Young India* saying that he would be content with the substance of independence and he mentioned eleven points to explain what he meant by that

expression. At the same time he virtually gave up the use of the word 'Independence' and substituted in its place the more elastic expression substance of Independence or another expression especially coined by him namely 'Purna Swaraj' which he could interpret in his own way. The Civil Disobedience campaign was launched without any effort to consult the Mussalmans. One or two old tried comrades were no doubt invited but only as camp followers to march behind soldiers in this war of independence which if it could be won would only reduce the Mussalmans to a position of abject independence. Mr. Gandhi advocated Hindu-Muslim unity in his presidential address at the Belgaum Congress in words whose sincerity we now doubt:

> Hindu-Muslim Unity is......the breath of our life... communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

These were the views of Mr. Gandhi at the commencement of the constitution-making. It did not take long for Mr. Gandhi to change his position, for very soon he declared in *Young India* that "Independent India cannot afford to have communal representation" and that "the Congress has now to......refuse to resort to camouflage or expedience in a matter so vital—the communal question." One should not be surprised at this attitude of Mr. Gandhi, for he refuses to call a spade a spade. He was not prepared to show any kind of

accommodating spirit. The communal strifes, he said "have become a normal thing of life." While real communalism masquerades as "nationalism," safeguards against communalism are branded as "communalism." In the Lahore Congress, the Nehru Report lapsed and the resolution of complete independence was another stunt of Mr. Gandhi and others, and they were not prepared to admit their failure to produce a constitution acceptable to all parties. Though the Nehru constitution lapsed, the Nehru mentality that induced those who dominated the Nehru Committee to unsettle the settlement reached at Madras, was still in existence. There is not a word to be found in the entire proceedings of the Lahore Congress and the subsequent meetings of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. and in the mass of literature published in Mahatma Gandhi's papers, nor in the letters he has addressed to old and tried fellow-workers whom he has deserted, to indicate that the Nehru Report has lapsed because its authors and Mahatma Gandhi were convinced that the so-called Hindu-Muslim settlement in the Nehru report was unjust to the Mussalmans, or at least unsatisfactory and unacceptable to them.

In the Congress scheme of things the Muslims had no place. The Hindus as such and the so-called Indian Nationalist press vehemently denounced the Mussalmans and said that the Mussalmans were communalists and the Hindus were a community of Nationalists or altruists and that the outlook of the Mussalmans was narrow and that of the Hindus

wide. Malignant propaganda in season and out of season was carried out in the press. It will be seen that when confidence, mutual love and trust had given place to hatred, distrust and suspicion, it was not practical politics to talk of a common electoral roll, for the only result of such a scheme would be that Mussalmans would have disappeared from all legislatures and local bodies, as they had no party organization similar to that of the Congress and in seven Provinces of British India, they are in a hopeless minority.

Even proportional representation could only succeed if there were well-organized parties and multi-member constituencies, if the voters were not illiterate and possessed a fair level of intelligence, and above all if the minority were organized and not scattered; not otherwise. Another suggestion which is often being discussed is the acceptance of joint electorate by the Mussalmans with fixed reservation of seats for them. A moment's reflection will convince any one that this form is even worse than the system of election by proportional representation, Mussalmans being in hopeless minority in seven out of the nine Provinces of the British India. The Hindus can, and there is no doubt that if such a system were to exist, they would, so organize themselves as to completely ignore the influence of Muslim votes in the election of Hindu members from joint constituencies. On the other hand, the effect of the Hindus on the election of Muslim Members would be decisive. Just to elaborate this point, we take up the case of Madras

Central Provinces, United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. In the United Provinces, Muslims form 14.28 per cent of the population. In election eighty or eighty-two per cent of the Hindu voters would return Hindu Member who would be their genuine representative. In the case of election of a Mussalman member coming up on the joint electorate, the eighty per cent of Hindu votes would be decisive and the fourteen per cent of the Mussalmans would be practically useless. Hence, while Hindu members would be genuine representatives of the Hindus, the Muslim member would be a mere puppet as he would be returned practically by Hindu votes. Indeed, if such a device would have been agreed upon, it would be a negation of the principle of the proportional representation, for this system guarantees the election of representatives from Minorities who are elected on the votes of Minority community only. It deliberately and systematically gives the Minority opportunity of voting for and electing its own representatives by its own votes alone. In the case of joint electorate with fixed reservation of seats, this right is completely taken away from the hands of the Minority. It comes to this: "Yes you will have a representative in the Legislature but your representative will not be elected by you, but by the other party." If a representative is not elected by a party, how can he be said to represent the party? The method on the very face of it is so illogical and contradictory that the Mussalmans could never agree to its acceptance. The Nehru Report overlooked these important

factors. The Congress knew well that the Mussalmans as a body, leaving apart certain individuals who were the followers of the Congress would never accept the report.

It will be recalled that in spite of the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly had refused to participate and to co-operate with the deliberations of the Simon Commission, yet the Viceroy had appointed a Committee under Sir Sankaran Nair. The Report of the Committee was published and came with no little surprise for the Mussalmans of India, for they well knew that the President had an undying love for the Mahasabha. Never before in the whole history of India had such a document been published. Never before was there such a cynical disregard of the elementary rights of Minorities so palpably and flagrantly shown. Though on paper he pleaded for parliamentary government, in practice he usurped all the powers for the Hindu oligarchy. He handed over the Punjab to a coalition of Hindus and Sikhs. By giving option to the non-Muslim minorities of the Punjab, he converted Muslim majority there to a miserable minority. The net result of the scheme of the Indian Central Committee, from the Muslim point of view, would be the establishment, if the Report would have been accepted, of a Hindu oligarchy in each Province. Mussalmans condemned this Report and expressed their attitude of resentment towards this sickening document. The atmosphere of the country was full of proposals and counter-proposals. First came the Nehru Report,

then the Indian National Congress resolution declaring its creed as India's independence and lastly came the Report of the Indian Central Committee. It was hard time for the Mussalmans but they withstood the storm with courage and in a statesman-like spirit. With independence as an ideal they naturally sympathise like any other nation on earth; they deplored the servitude, dependence and servility of their father-land. But it was one thing to dream of an ideal and quite another thing to deal with realities. The Muslims were convinced that all these tactics, ultimatums and resolutions were being passed with the sole object of strengthening the position of the Hindu community in the Round Table Conference. The independence resolution was carried with another object of strengthening the hands of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, in his fight for the Hindu India in the Round Table Conference. It was said that the forces which were martialled in the Congress Camp were really meant to be used to consolidate Malviya's position. The position demanded unusual tact and diplomacy for the Mussalmans. The Mussalmans were between the devil and the deep sea. The days of the Round Table Conference were fast approaching. The Hindus from the platform of the Congress were trying to show that they were the greatest Nationalists. But every Mussalman knew that these Hindu Communalists used the word 'Nationalism,' as they do now, with a certain amount of mental reservation, lacking the courage to assert that by nationalism they mean

Hindu nationalism, as the late Lala Lajpat Rai had the frankness to confess in his Autobiography. Muslims all over the country were on their guard against the deceptive methods of the Congress propaganda. Having long ignored them and denied justice and fair play, the Congress propagandists began to discover that their campaign in favour of independence was doomed to utter failure if the Mussalmans were not to lend their support to their decision. And for this reason the Muslims were told to sink, for the present, all their communal differences and hoped that once freedom from foreign domination was attained, the solution of communal problems by the way of equitable adjustment would be quite possible. But the Mussalmans naturally questioned themselves that after what has been promised to the Muslims in the Nehru Report, the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference, the Congress resolutions, and the sad plight of the Muslim League representatives in the so-called National convention, could they concede the same after succeeding in the mission? No sane person could be so easily deceived. Even, Mr. Jinnah, an old Nationalist and fellow-worker of the Congress failed to convince the packed convention of the Hindu communalists about the demands of the Mussalmans. All this was fresh in the memory of the Mussalmans.

Meanwhile, the Government of India was busy in pushing forward the scheme of the Indian Round Table Conference wherein the various representatives of different communities were to meet on a

table with the representatives of the British Parliament and discuss the future constitution of the country in the light of the Statutory Commission's Report. Speaking before the Legislative Assembly on January 1930, Lord Irwin reiterated the former assurances which he had given to the Indian people about the India's constitutional goal. His Excellency explained to the members of the Legislative Assembly the purpose and the scope of the Round Table Conference and appealed for co-operation. Soon after this conciliatory and frank speech, the Council of the All-India Muslim League met and expressed appreciation of the Viceroy's announcement which had clearly defined the purpose and the policy of the Government regarding the demand of Dominion Status for India. Another effect which the various currents of the Indian movements produced was the meeting of Mr. Jinnah and Sir Mohd. Shafee whose differences had long been a painful reading, and a great unity was attained by this re-union at a very critical time in the history of the Mussalmans.

There was no doubt left in anybody's mind that for the progress of India, the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem was an essential factor. The Congress which represented the Hindus as such was only prepared to safeguard the cultural, religious and linguistic rights of the minorities. At such a time, was published a very interesting article in *New India* from a Hungarian correspondent regarding the operations exercised to suppress the minorities by hostile and ungenerous majorities. These

rights were safeguarded by the League of Nations but proved fruitless to afford protection to the minorities.

Meanwhile efforts were being made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and other leaders to bring about a communal settlement and for this reason an All-Parties' Conference was convened at Delhi. For a time it seemed that the efforts would bring about some tangible results, but ultimately it failed to bring about the desired effects owing to the irreconcilable attitude of some of the Hindu members to concede Muslim demands. All this time Mr. Gandhi was busy in threatening the Government to start Civil Disobedience Movement. The Working Committee of the Congress vested in him the dictatorial power for launching the Movement. The members of the different legislatures belonging to the Congress Party had already submitted their resignation. Out of deference to the mandate of the Lahore Congress, a large section of the Mussalmans was opposed to the idea of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and the Ali brothers, along with the other Nationalist Muslim leaders, had openly appealed to the Mussalmans not to pay heed to the Congress appeal. On 27th February 1930, Mr. Gandhi announced his plan of campaign to achieve India's independence by breaking the Salt Law. He decided to march to Dandi to break the Law. The no-rent campaign, the picketing of liquor shops and the use of Khaddar in place of foreign clothes were some attractive items of Mr. Gandhi's programme through which he wanted to achieve

India's independence. Soon after the movement was launched, the Viceroy on the 12th May, 1930, made a historical announcement surveying the whole position and fixing up the date for the Round Table Conference.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar tried their level best to persuade Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Motilal Nehru, who were in jail, to agree to some kind of arrangement which might enable them to attend the Round Table Conference. Mr. Gandhi was not in a mood then to agree to such terms as could be honourable to both the parties. The efforts of these leaders proved abortive and the Congress withdrew its support from the First Round Table Conference. The Government was determined to put an end to repressive and lawless activities of the Congress and as usual, riots in the various parts of the country also broke out. After the bitter experience of Non-co-operation Movement of 1921, when their energy and enthusiasm were exploited and they were let down and left in the lurch, the Mussalmans developed a sense of realities and could no longer be cajoled, much less coerced into this ruinous line of action. They could now see through the game of the Congress. It said to itself: "We will achieve independence without the help of the Indian Mussalmans. We can dictate terms to both."

Reverting to the constitutional aspects, the Report of the Simon Commission which was long due, was published on June 7th, 1930. The Nehru Report was torn into ribbons by the merciless logic

and the cold, clear, limpid and penetrating intellect of Sir John Simon. The Report was very cautiously drafted. The Committee undoubtedly adopted some of the suggestions in the Nehru Report. In the treatment of the communal problems, the report took a long view of the whole situation. Recognising the evil effects of communal representation and looking forward for a day when the need for it would no longer be felt, it finally disposed of the theory, "that communal representation is the direct cause of the present tension." From the remarks of the Commission, however, on the system of communal representation, the Mussalmans thought, and rightly too, that they would not be deprived of this essential safeguard to their community. The Commission was, however, convinced that the separate electorate, the social life, the religious antipathy, of the two communities were responsible for the conflict. The points of social contact between the Hindus and the Muslims are unfortunately very few and far between. In the words of the Commission itself:

> It would be an utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Muslim antagonism is analogous to separation between religious denominations in contemporary Europe. Differences of race, a different system of law and the absence of inter-marriage constitute a far more effective barrier. It is a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic competition as well as in mutual religious antipathy.

Having disposed of the question whether the

Hindu-Muslim tension is aggravated or assuaged by the prevailing system of communal representation, the Commissioners observed:

> There is a long and important history connected with the separate representation of Mohammadans which needs to be carefully studied before detailed proposals for the future can be discussed or put forward, but we may say at once that in our judgment communal representation cannot be justly regarded as a reason for the communal tension we have been describing and there is no solid ground for supposing that if communal representation were abolished communal strife would disappear. The true cause lies deeper and arises from conditions which are the mechanics of representation. The coming of reforms and anticipation of what may follow them have given no point to Hindu-Muslim competition. A great part of evidence given before us was on communal lines and the same cleavage appears in the reports of the Indian Committees that sat with us. One community naturally lays claim to the rights of a majority and relies upon its qualifications of better education and greater wealth. The other is all the more determined on those accounts to secure effective protection for its members and does not forget that it represents the previous conquerors of the country. It wishes to be assured of adequate representation and of a full share of official posts.

The treatment of the Minorities by Sir John Simon in the opinion of the Mussalmans was thoroughly unsatisfactory for, he failed to understand the principles of minority safeguards. The principles of safeguards are clearly and unambiguously propounded in the constitutions of ten countries of Europe. Through them, the culture, education

and language of minorities are safeguarded. The Commission devoted an admirable chapter on education in Volume I of their Report, and Muslims expected that Volume II would contain ample and adequate guarantees for this purpose. Though the Muslim case was sympathetically treated as shown in Volume I, in the recommendations (Volume II) most of the protection claimed was indirectly provided for governors, who rarely exercised their discretion to afford relief to non-British interest. The Government of India in its Despatch of proposals for constitutional reforms expressed its opinion in its Despatch of the 20th September 1930.

According to the assurances of the Government the Indian Round Table Conference was called in London and met at St. James Palace on the 12th November 1930. Indian representatives were invited by the Viceroy. The Congress refused the hand of co-operation and on the very first day, Mr. Jinnah, in his speech, said, "I must emphasise that India now expects translation and fulfilment of these declarations into action." The various speeches delivered by the representatives in the Round Table Conference desired an advance on the then existing constitution on behalf of the princes. The Maharajas of Alwar and Bikaner and the Nawab Saheb of Bhopal, all pleaded for India's progress. Owing to the Non-co-operation Movement in this country the British Government and particularly the Conservative Party felt much perturbed, but Mr. Jinnah said in his speech that as there are four

parties in the country each party must be satisfied and the one common issue was that every one of them demanded a full measure of Self-Government. He further pointed out "that 70 millions of Mussalmans all barring a few individuals here and there have kept aloof from the Non-co-operation Movement." And so was the case for the depressed classes and other people. In those circumstances he advocated that the work of the Conference be proceeded with the various subject committees that were appointed including one on the question of Minorities. From the Muslim point of view it was a most important committee. The Mussalmans demanded adequate safeguards to be embodied in the Constitution itself. After many days' sitting the Subjects Committee recommended that the Conference should register an opinion that it was desirable that an agreement upon the claims made to it should be reached and that the negotiations should be continued between the representatives concerned and the result of their efforts reported to "those engaged in the next stage of these negotiations." The Mussalmans were determined in their assertion that they could not consent to any constitution for India unless their demands were met in a reasonable manner. The first Round Table Conference thus ended without covering much ground on the 19th January 1931.

The Muslim League met in Allahabad with Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal as its president who in his presidential address said:

> And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. That principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are Communalisms and Communalisms.

In this very session he suggested certain remedies for the future. He said:

> I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.
>
> I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interests of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit of modern times.

A vigorous plea was put forth by the League for conceding the Muslim demands and particularly for the separation of Sind and inauguration of reforms in N.W.F. Province.

In the beginning of 1931, the atmosphere for a clear understanding between the Government and

the Congress was once again favourable. The British Government was determined to see the Congress representatives in the Round Table Conference. On February 14, Mr. Gandhi applied for an interview with Lord Irwin and proceeded to Delhi to meet him. A pact was arrived at on March, 4, and it was unanimously approved of. A special session of the Congress was called in Karachi. Much capital is made to-day out of independence resolution passed at Lahore, but in the Karachi Session Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel gave the go-by to the Lahore resolution on independence, and advocated Dominion Status for India. The Delhi Pact was ratified by the Congress, and the Congress once again for the sake of vanity of Mr. Gandhi, laid low India's cause for it ultimately proved a curse instead of a blessing. Mr. Gandhi was appointed as the sole representative by the Congress. Mr. Gandhi began to placate the Mussalmans by saying that his going to the Round Table Conference depended on his ability to solve the Hindu-Muslim question beforehand. But very soon, due to the opposition from his own rank and file, Mr. Gandhi changed his mind. Mr. Jinnah had already warned Mr. Gandhi about his falling into the trap of Lord Irwin and had advised him not to go to England at any cost but Mr. Gandhi went to the Round Table Conference and interested himself with the solution of the communal problem. His chief part was in the minority community report and after days of labour, Mr. Gandhi on the 8th October 1931, announced:

> It is with deep sorrow and deeper humiliation that I have to announce the utter failure on my part to secure an agreed solution of the communal question through informal conversations among and with the representatives of different groups.

Although Mr. Gandhi repeated his blank-cheque offer in respect of Muslim claims in the course of public speeches in England, on every occasion that he used such words he was carefully informed to add the notorious proviso of complete unanimity among Mussalmans as a condition precedent to any advance on behalf of the Hindus. These were familiar tactics, for every one knew that the Sikhs and a few of Muslim Nationalists were set up to thwart the Muslim demand. Mr. Gandhi also advised the Mussalmans to come in his Congress field but the most interesting thing about the whole affair was that Mr. Gandhi while illusive and evasive himself, was rather careful in making specific mention of the Muslim demands which he was going to concede if Muslims accepted his invitation. Thus while imposing the fewest restrictions upon himself he was dragging the Muslims towards a web, from which it would have been difficult for them to disentangle once they fell victim to it. The Muslim demands were put forward by Hafiz Hidayat Husain, Sir Mohd. Shafi and Mr. Jinnah. The Hindu Mahasabha was determined not to agree to separate electorates and the question of weightage to the Mussalmans. There was complete unanimity in the Muslim rank and file. His Highness the Agha Khan presented a document on behalf

of the Mussalmans, the Depressed classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans and a considerable section of Indian Christians embodying the agreement arrived at between them with regard to inter-communal problem with which the Round Table Conference in general and the Minorities Committee in particular were concerned. A careful perusal of the Minorities' Committees' Report will show on whom fell the responsibility for the failure for achieving a unanimous solution. The Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald addressed a solemn warning to the Indian delegates of the Round Table Conference in his famous December speech on the conclusion of the second session of the Conference when he said:

> Let me warn you that if you cannot come to an agreement on this (Communal question) among yourselves, it will add considerably to the difficulties of any government here, which shares our views of Indian constitution, and it will detract from the place which that constitution will occupy amongst those of other nations.

The wish of His Majesty's Government that the question be settled among the Indian communal representatives themselves did not achieve any results. Meanwhile, in India the session of the All-India Muslim League was called with Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan as its President. He dealt at length in his presidential address with the various constitutional phases and pleaded for an All India Federation. The League demanded definite announcement regarding the future safeguards for the Mussal-

mans and further demanded reforms in Frontier which was a point of honour for them, the separation of Sind and the provincial autonomy.

After a glorious failure Mr. Gandhi who claimed to represent the entire voice of India returned to this country. Mr. Gandhi failed in his mission in London. The Indian members of the Round Table Conference complained that it was difficult to get Mr. Gandhi when they wanted him but the causes of Mr. Gandhi's failure in London according to Mr. Bose go much deeper. Mr. Gandhi's failure to achieve something tangible for his country at the London Conference was shrouded in mystery by the Congress propaganda. The Government under Lord Willingdon had reversed its policy. Mr. Gandhi appealed repeatedly to Lord Willingdon for an interview on the alleged repression of the Government, and repeatedly requested him to grant an interview to him, but the Viceroy refused to see Mr. Gandhi, and on January 4th the Government of India issued a statement justifying their attitude and conduct. The Congress started its Civil Disobedience Movement. The Mussalmans refused to join this Movement as they had seen through the inconsistency of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.

The Round Table Conference was adjourned but certain committees which were appointed were busy in investigating and submitting its findings. The Lothian Committee submitted its report on Franchise and the Muslim League on the 14th January adopted the following resolution.

"While approving of the principle of extending franchise to provinces, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that the Indian Franchise Committee has failed to achieve proper distribution of voting power between different sections of people, the object aimed at by the Committee itself." It was desired by the Simon Commission as well as the Round Table Conference that voting registers in the Provinces should reflect Muslim population as compared with voting registers of other communities. The Franchise Committee's achievement is a divergence which existed before and has been further accentuated.

With the publication of the Communal Award on Aug. 16, 1932, a serious situation arose in connection with the depressed classes. Mr. Gandhi decided to fast unto death if the decision to give separate electorates to depressed classes was not abandoned. In this connection letters were exchanged between Mr. Gandhi, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The Hindu leaders including Pandit Malavia, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Jayakar after due deliberations evolved a formula generally known as the Poona Pact. On the 26th September, Mr. Harry Haig, the Home Member, announced that His Majesty's Government had agreed to accept the decision arrived at between the parties concerned.

Meanwhile efforts were being made by various Muslim organisations to evolve a formula acceptable to all parties. A conference for this purpose was called at Allahabad on 3rd November 1932. Soon

after the Unity Committee's meetings were over, the representatives of the various Muslim organisations including the All-India Muslim League met on the 20th November 1932, at Delhi and issued the following statement.

> The Joint Conference of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference, the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (Cawnpore) have carefully considered the text of the draft resolutions recently passed by the committee of the Allahabad Conference and while registering appreciation of the endeavours made by a wing of Mussalmans to arrive once again at some settlement with the Congress and the Mahasabha Hindus and with the Sikhs on the communal problem, desires to place on record its opinion that the proposed basis of the agreement is injurious to Muslim interests, impractical and unacceptable.
>
> As those responsible for conducting the proceedings at Allahabad did not publish the full text of the resolutions they had passed until the latest possible moment and then immediately proceeded to proclaim far and wide that complete unity amongst the communities of India had been achieved as a result of them, we consider it of importance that the popular misapprehensions about the scope and status of the Allahabad Conference and meaning of the resolutions passed by it should be promptly corrected. We note with surprise that one of the chief Hindu participants in the negotiations has at this early stage actually telegraphed to London to say that the conference has settled the communal problem.
>
> The communal decision given by His Majesty's Government last August was only necessary because of the regrettable failure of the communities despite the most strenuous and repeated endeavours over a period of many years to reach an agreement regarding their

respective political positions in the self-governing India. In our view this failure was due to the persistent refusal of the majority community to meet the minorities' just and reasonable claims. Owing to the complete deadlock thus created, a position arose in which, had no award on the subject been given by His Majesty's Government, it would have been impossible for India to progress any further towards the management of her own affairs.

As was emphatically recorded by a vast majority of the accredited Muslim organisations and leaders at the time, the award was very far from satisfying the legitimate Muslim political demands which had been formulated and generally agreed upon in the past. Nonetheless the majority of responsible Muslims were after a while reluctantly forced to the conclusion that since the majority community were obstinately and from all appearances irrevocably opposed to granting us safeguards and protection which as a minority we are entitled to and since no further advance towards responsible self-government for India was possible except on the basis of the award, it was advisable even with its obvious defects from the Muslim point of view, to accept it.

An All Parties' Muslim Conference was then convened by Raja Saheb of Salempore on the 10th December at Lucknow and reiterated its former decision taken up by the Muslims. Again the second session of the Unity Conference met on the 16th December in Allahabad and the 3rd session on the 23rd December, but these conferences showed that they were predominantly dominated by the rank and file of the Congress which were manoeuvring to outwit the Muslim's fair and reasonable demands. The Muslim League had in

its meeting of 4th September 1932, adopted a resolution clarifying its own position.

With the dawn of the new year the Congress began to realize the futility of carrying on the Civil Disobedience Movement and also the danger of its fizzling out. Mr. Gandhi again decided to go on a three-week fast as a penance because his followers outside had not made sufficient progress with the Anti-Untouchability Campaign. The Government considered it prudent to set him free and the Civil Disobedience Movement was soon called off. Mr. Gandhi frankly admitted that the Congress organisations had become corrupted bodies and soon after this at the instance of Mr. Gandhi the Acting President of the Congress, Mr. S. Aney, dissolved all Congress organisations in the country.

The proposals in the form of a White Paper were issued by the British Government in March 1932, which embodied the tentative conclusions arrived at as a result of the Sessions of the Round Table Conference. The Muslim League again presented a sorry spectacle and the two alternative sessions were held, one at Howrah under the presidentship of Mian Abdul Aziz and another at Delhi under the presidentship of Hafiz Hidayat Husain.

Happily this split in the ranks of the All-India Muslim League ended on the 4th March 1934, when at a combined meeting of both sections held at New Delhi under the presidentship of Hafiz Hidayat Husain, a resolution was passed that the cleavage be made up and Mr. Jinnah be elected President of

the united body. His election was hailed from all quarters and even a nationalist like Mr. Asaf Ali who was present in the meeting expressed the hope that the League would revive its former strength.

Mr. Jinnah in the course of his speech said:

> On my return to India I have seen abundant evidence that public opinion, both Hindu and Muslim, thinks alike in terms of the political evolution of the country. The emphasis which Muslims place on the Communal Award is only an indication of their desire to make sure that any demand which they joined to put forward on behalf of the country will incorporate the safeguards which Muslims consider to be a minimum. Muslims are in no way behind any other community in their demand for national self-government. The crux of the whole issue, therefore, is, can we completely assure Muslims that the safeguards to which they attach vital importance will be embodied in future constitution of India?

Such was the position which stood in the year 1934. The British Government was busy with the White Paper and for that purpose a Joint Parliamentary Committee was appointed. Some Indian delegates were invited but the prominent amongst them who were not included in the third Round Table Conference were the leaders of Mussalmans, including Mr. Jinnah, and Congress which had already decided to have nothing to do with the future constitution making. Its report was published and it formed the basis of the constitution of 1935.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ACT OF 1935—LEAGUE AND CONGRESS CONFLICT

With the publication of J. P. C. Report political India was busy on the constitutional front. The Report was presented in the Legislative Assembly by Sir N. N. Sirkar leader of the House. Immediately a crop of amendments to the motion were moved, the most important of them coming from Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League and Mr. Bhula Bhai Desai, leader of the Congress party. Mr. Jinnah in his amendment wanted the Communal Award to stay while he rejected the scheme of Federation. The Congress by its resolution had adopted a curious attitude. It was neither for accepting the Award nor for rejecting it. The opposition of the Hindus and particularly of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, to the Award was very strong. The Congressmen having realised that the Muslims as a whole were unanimous in supporting the Award, adopted a neutral attitude, both outside and inside. While Mr. Jinnah emphatically declared that Federation was wholly rotten and totally unacceptable and absolutely unworkable, in as much as it consisted of "98% safeguards and only 2% responsibility," he accepted the later part of

the Act which dealt with the Provincial Autonomy. He, however, proposed certain amendments. The Law Member, referring to Mr. Jinnah's amendment said:

> Now Sir, I was going to say that instead of honest, direct and frontal attack which comes from my friend Mr. Desai, we have this disingenious and indirect attack from my honourable friend, Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah, although directed on the identical purpose. My honourable friend knows perfectly well that although in form it is an attack only on half, yet in substance, in effect, there is no difference in the amendment of my honourable friend Mr. Jinnah and the amendment of the Congress leaders.

The Assembly however adopted the amendment moved by Mr. Jinnah. For the purpose of voting, the amendment was divided into two parts. The first part related to the acceptance of Communal Award. The Congress amendment of neutrality was taken up first which was an amendment to Mr. Jinnah's amendment and was lost. The amendments moved by Mr. Jinnah to the official resolution were, however, adopted.

The Congress was placed in a most awkward position. As regards the Communal Award, negotiations for an agreed settlement between the communities, which could replace the Communal Award and which by minimising communal bickerings, could enable the country to present a united front proceeded for more than a month between the Congress president Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Mus-

lim League. Unfortunately they failed to evolve a formula which could satisfy all parties concerned. Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah issued a joint statement saying:

> We have made earnest efforts to find a solution concerned. We regret that in spite of our best efforts we have not been able to find such a formula. We realize that the communal harmony and concord are essential for the progress of the country and we can only hope that forces will arise which will make a future attempt more fruitful.

Meanwhile some prominent Hindus, led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani organised the Anti-Communal Award organisation and condemned in unequivocal terms the weightage and the separate representation conceded to the Mussalmans. In condemning the Award the Hindu leaders overlooked the fact that the whole thing was due to their own narrow-mindedness and to the failure of Mr. Gandhi who had written to the Prime Minister himself asking him to give his own decision and admitting his failure in finding out a reasonable formula.

The Hindu-Muslim relations once again took a very ugly turn and serious communal riots broke out in the Punjab resulting in the loss of life and property. The real time for fight was yet to come. In spite of the unanimous opposition of the Indian public opinion and the Muslim-League's opposition to some of its obnoxious features, the Act received the Royal Assent. Addressing the Central Legislature, the Viceroy said:

> The Act for the first time in the history of India consolidates the whole of India, State and British, for the purpose of common concern under a single Government of India for the first time, and can become one great country. The second broad feature in contrast with the existing constitution is that the Government of India under the new constitution will draw their authority by direct evolution from the Crown, just as the Dominion Governments do. They will cease to be agents and will stand forth as full political and juristic personalities, exercising the function of his Majesty.

The volume of opposition from the Congress grew more and more, and it seemed for a time that the Congress would tear into pieces the Government of India Act of 1935. At this time the Mussalmans had no real political platform. The organisation which could speak on behalf of the 90 million Mussalmans of India was in a dormant state. Disruptions and dissensions had already taken place and much had happened since the formation of a parallel organisation known as All-India Muslim Conference. Mr. Jinnah who was an ardent champion of India's national cause and who had left no stone unturned in bringing about a settlement between the two communities was at this stage in England, living in utter disgust of the various jealousies, the bid for leadership, and the tangled web of intrigues and cliques. In sheer desperation Mr. Jinnah called the session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1936, under the presidentship of Sir Wazir Hasan, an old comrade in arms. There was opposition from every direction, from the Congress, from certain bodies of the Mussalmans themselves. With

no primary organisation, the Muslim League in Bombay decided to fight the elections.

Discussing the Government of India Act of 1935, Sir Wazir Hasan remarked, "I do not share the view that it is worse than the existing constitution. In my opinion the Constitution of 1935 provides much larger scope and gives more powers to our ministers to carry out beneficent reforms in almost all the nation-building departments." He further advised the Mussalmans "let us therefore set our house in order as quickly as possible if we want to avert a disaster. It should be remembered that these forces are not expected to regulate their pace according to the time-table which we may choose to prescribe." Emphasising the position of the Mussalmans Sir Wazir Hasan remarked "it should always be borne in mind that India is a continent. It should further be borne in mind that the Hindus and the Mussalmans inhabiting this vast continent are not two communities but should be considered two nations in many respects." The President had visualised at a very early stage rather before the inauguration of the Act itself, the position which the governors would take up as regards the special responsibilities. He said:

> When you come to clause (*b*) you have the expression, 'legitimate interests.' Here again the determination as to what are and what are not legitimate interests is left entirely to the individual judgment of the Governor and you may rest assured that except in the case of a European minority, the Governor will always try as he ought to to avert a clash with the ministry under this Act. Thus there is no safeguard against an aggres-

sive minister or even a meek minister.

It was in Bombay that the All India Muslim League, by virtue of the resolution adopted in respect to the introduction of provincial autonomy (on 12th April 1936), decided to take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections, and for this purpose appointed Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, "consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various provinces, having regard to the condition of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects." With characteristic foresight, Mr. Jinnah realised the imperative need of organising the Mussalmans as a well-knit compact political unit, ready to play their rightful part in the new political dispensation and took immediate steps to resuscitate the dormant Muslim League. In pursuance of Bombay decision the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June, 1936, and also in various provinces provincial boards were formed to give effect to the instructions of the League. With no primary organisation worth the name and with very insufficient means of propaganda, the Muslim League decided to send its representative who would genuinely take up the Muslim cause.

About the same time the Congress was deliberating in Lucknow. The Congress rejected the new Constitution in its entirety and stressed the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of

the Indian people and at another moment decided to fight the elections. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, condemned the Government of India Act in most emphatic terms. "If we rejected the White Paper" he asked, "what then are we to do with this new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses?" He argued that "a charter of slavery is no law for the slave, and though we may perforce submit for a while to it and to the humiliation of ordinances and the like, inherent in that enforced submission is the right and the desire to rebel against it and to end it."

It was in Lucknow that Mr. Jawaharlal chalked out a programme of appealing to the Mussalmans to join the Congress in the name of hunger and poverty and of doing away with the communal leaders. He thought of solving the communal problem by appealing to the masses on economic issues, and India's freedom. The target of attack was the Government of India Act and the Congress determination to oppose it. But very soon the whole opposition to the Act began to fizzle out, and the Congress consequently accepted office.

Reverting to the activities of the All India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, in pursuance of the resolution adopted at Bombay eventually convened a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council with a view to discuss with the various school of thoughts the formation of the parliamentary board and the adoption of the League manifesto.

What added to the importance of the meeting of the League was that Left Wing of the Muslim League which had for past few years kept away from it, decided to work with all other groups. Moulvi Ahmad Said of Jamiat-e-Hind remarked that the unique personality of Mr. Jinnah had attracted even the extremists like himself to the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah was determined to bring all internecine quarrels to an end and make the League so strong as to be in a position to negotiate with the Hindus on equal terms. The Bombay session brought a radical change in Muslim politics. The Muslim League decided to widen its appeal from the limited circle of intelligentsia to the millions of the electorates. Accordingly, Mr. Jinnah invited various Muslim leaders for a discussion at Hotel Imperial in Delhi. Mr. Habib-ur-Rahman, the leader of Majlise-Aharar said that he could not commit the party on two points. Firstly they could not unite with the Muslim League so long as any Mirzai (a sect in the Punjab) was a member of the League as a Muslim and secondly their creed was Independence. Mr. Jinnah advised them to join the League and convert it to their view-point, but he insisted that no 'qadiani' should be there. Unfortunately no definite decision could be arrived at but it was decided that the parliamentary board should consist of 45 members. Mr. Jinnah afterwards made it clear that whenever representatives were returned to the various provincial legislatures they would be entitled to co-operate or coalesce with any group whose aims and ideals approximate those of the Muslim League.

Further, during his stay in Lahore he tried his level best to persuade Sir Fazle Husain and his Unionist party to join the Muslim League. The fundamental difference between the two was that Mian Sir Fazle Husain's party saw no flaw in the reforms. Mr. Jinnah's own view was summed up in his speech at Badshahi mosque, Lahore:

> We do not accept the reforms which have been forced on us but at the same time we can not remain outside the councils. We will try inside as well as outside the legislature to achieve our object—the independence of our country. The aim of the Muslim League is not to split but to unite the Muslims on a common platform.

Mr. Jinnah tried his level best to convert Sir Fazle Husain's party to his point of view but the difference between the two were so divergent that the talks bore no fruit. Mr. Jinnah frankly wanted a Muslim party, while Sir Fazle Husain opposed to give his party a communal label and preferred to call it by the high-sounding name of the Punjab Unionist Party and keep up a purely deceptive appearance. Mr. Jinnah on the other hand contended:

> The reason why they wanted communal parties, was that as the constitution was based on communal electorates, they would have to enter the legislatures on communal ticket. It was not their desire to become communalised. They had made it clear, they would enter the councils through separate electorates but while in the legislature they would co-operate and form alliances with those whose ideals are identical with theirs.

Mr. Jinnah's task was further impeded by the irreconcilable attitude adopted by 'Ittihad-e-millat' an organisation established by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, for the simple fact that their demands for the exclusion of Ahrars were not conceded. Sir Mohd. Iqbal stood by the side of Mr. Jinnah. Having failed in his mission, Mr. Jinnah left for Kashmir and in the words of the *Statesman* "from the saffron growing plains of far Kashmir, Mr. Jinnah announced his team." It further said:

> Saffron is the colour appropriate to asceticism and penitence and as he walks besides the Jhelum, Mr. Jinnah will no doubt think in a chastened mood of the past disunity among the Muslim political organisations, the struggle he had to lessen it and of the leaders who even now remained outside his parliamentary board. Nevertheless a place at the least will show that his achievement has been substantial. Perhaps no other Muslim leader could have done so much.

Mr. Jinnah returned from Kashmir and convened the first meeting of the parliamentary board on June 9. The Ahrars and Jamiat-e-Ulema attended it. The Board adopted a long resolution and issued a manifesto from Lahore.

Soon after its publication Nawab Yusuf and the Nawab of Chhatari resigned on the plea that the co-operation between the Hindu zemindars and Muslims was essential and their ideal was Dominion Status. Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz of Bihar also resigned on the plea that if the parliamentary system was to succeed in this country, "the formation of mixed parties ought to be encouraged." Similar resigna-

tions came from Sir Abdullah Haroon and a few others. Replying to Nawab of Chhatari, Mr. Jinnah said, "there is nothing communal in the programme and policy of the Muslim League except that it maintains the principle that Muslims as a minority should adequately be protected and safeguarded in the constitution of the country." Once again the community was divided into groups, each seeking to promote some local or personal interest. But he was determined to see that the Muslim masses are approached and thus the influence of those who did not think in the interests of the people and the country be removed. The Central Parliamentary Board however met in Bombay to recognise, and affiliate different Parliamentary Boards which were set up everywhere. Mr. Jinnah on that occasion declared "we mean to enforce our policy and programme vigorously. There was bound to be more opposition to the policy of the League. The League would fight such opposition." Mr. Jinnah further remarked that under the rules of the Central Parliamentary Board, it had been made clear that the Parliamentary Board in each province would be at liberty to decide by a two-third majority to co-operate with any political group having identical aims. Soon after a vigorous electioneering campaign was opened. Mr. Jinnah in a crushing reply to the Hindus and to his opponents who raised cheap slogans and wanted to discredit the League said:

Give lie a good start and truth can never take it,

> Muslims are uniting not to injure the cause of India's freedom but to defend it. If Muslims are a strong homogeneous group of eighty million, they can give valuable assistance to the Hindus in the fight for freedom and at the same time be assured that they themselves cannot be reduced to inferiority when freedom comes or compelled to live on sufferance and are content only with the crumbs of the spoils of freedom. This is why today from one end of India to another the cry of the children of Islam to one another is re-unite.

The establishment of provincial boards and to carry out the behests of the League was not without difficulty nor a small task to be performed. It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces, specially when the Muslims all over India are in a numerical minority, educationally backward and economically exploited. It was for the first time that an attempt was being made to lift them up socially and economically. Within no time the Mussalmans responded to the clarion call. The League succeeded in capturing sixty to seventy per cent of the seats contested by the League candidates in provinces where League Parliamentary Boards were constituted. Its success was particularly marked in the Muslim minority provinces of Bombay, Madras, U. P., and C. P., while in Bengal the League won only 50% of the Muslim seats. In the Punjab, the League did not succeed owing to the internecine feuds among different sections of the Muslim community and their failure to respond to Mr. Jinnah's call for Muslim solidarity. In U. P., the Raja Saheb of Salempore, as the President of the Parliamentary Board worked

with great interest and the organisation established by him and his comrades, Nawab Ismail Khan and Ch. Khaliquzzaman, succeeded in creating a new life in the province.

Before discussing the further developments we must cast a retrospective glance over what has transpired from 1924 till the election results in the words of Mr. Jinnah who, in a remarkable speech at the Aligarh University said:

> Since 1924 the Mussalmans have not been behind any other in their honest desire for full Self-Government. In this matter there was no difference. But the basic principle so far both of the Congress policy and the League policy had been that the rights and interests of all the Minorities must be safeguarded in any constitution, by whomsoever framed. Many efforts had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference to settle the Muslim-Hindu question. At that time, I knew no pride and used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of the Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Mussalmans were in the No Man's Land; they were led by either the flunkeys of British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organize the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu mentality nor could I make the

Mussalmans realise their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India; but I felt utterly helpless. I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years I found that the Mussalmans were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India, as I could not do any good from London. Having no sanction behind me I was in the position of a beggar and received the treatment that a beggar deserves.

Then in 1935, I entered into negotiations with the President of the Congress. A formula was evolved but the Hindus wouldn't look at it. In 1936 I said to the Congress. "Never mind what was done, stop this bitter controversy over the Communal Award. Good, bad or indifferent, let it stand in the absence of an agreed solution. Let us face the bigger issue." But when I felt I had exploited every method of bringing about unity I turned round to see what the actual situation demanded. I saw that the new constitution was coming. From 1924 to 1936, it came to this, nothing doing. In sheer desperation I called the session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1936, and the League decided to contest the elections in the provinces. There was opposition from every direction, from the Congress, from many of our own people. With no primary organization and with very inadequate resources the League fought the elections and achieved a considerable measure of success. But still in some of our own majority provinces there was no Muslim League party. However, working with determination and perseverance since April 1936, we have achieved something which is wonderful.

Let us recapitulate our position. Firstly, there was the bureaucracy; they felt that they had acquired a prescriptive right over the Mussalmans. They said, "Well, if this Jinnah fellow comes, Muslims will be out of our hands." It has happened so. The Mus-

salmans, thanks God, are to-day out of their hands. But power has now passed to a certain extent into the hands of the majority community. It is now clear that the British Government shows no sign of coming to the help of Muslims but is throwing them to the wolves. I am glad, so far so good. To a very great extent the Muslim League has freed the Mussalmans from the clutches of the British Government. But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British Government. Call it by whatever name you like, but it is Hindu and Hindu government.

Political language is woolly and misleading. I shall speak plainly. What is the attitude of the Congress? It may be summed up thus, 'the Muslim League is composed of toadies; it is a reactionary body, it is in alliance with the Imperialistic power,' that is how they denounce the Muslim League. Well, what has the League done? The League decided with regard to the prevailing conditions that the provincial constitution should be utilised for what it was worth. On the other hand the decision of the Congress was to wreck the constitution. The Congress did not have patience with the League which have adopted a full-blooded nationalistic programme. We were trying to make the Muslim League completely representative of the Muslim community. I was misrepresented and maligned in the Congress press. I was dubbed a communalist. They said, 'Well Jinnah may be all right, but he is surrounded by toadies and flunkies who will swallow him up.' Every time some plausible excuse was made to ignore the Muslims. The Congress tried to poison the minds of our youth and delude them into the belief that the Congress stood for complete independence and would remove poverty and hunger. But what were really their designs. They wanted certain assurances from the British Government which they failed to get. They are not only utilising but working the very constitution they had so vehemently

professed to wreck. To the Muslims they gave all sorts of silly assurances. In one province the Congress Premier went to the extent of declaring that he would lay down his very life if a single brick of a mosque were touched. That sounded very noble. But what actually happened. In that very province, viz., Behar, the cumulative system of voting has been taken away with the result that no Muslim was elected in the last election. We, therefore, cannot depend upon assurance and good-will. In politics good-will and love and affection and regard can only be demonstrated when you are strong. People know how to touch your weak points or if you like your strong points. When you are told of this heart-rending hunger and poverty, when somebody comes and tells you, "Oh, what is the use of anything? Let us remove these appalling conditions. The Congress is struggling to achieve independence and to establish a communistic and socialistic government. The economic issue is the only issue that faces us" you will be moved, I confess I myself sometime feel moved. This has been constantly dinned into the ears of the youth. When you think you will be able to destroy the British Government, the zemindars, the capitalists with one stroke refer to the conditions of Europe. In Germany, Hitlerism came into existence because of socialistic and communistic movements. So did Fascism rise in Italy. What is the fight in Spain about? It is the same issue. When the question was put to the President of the Congress party as to when he would be able to fulfil this wonderful programme, he said, "Within my life time," and added, "when we have captured power we will destroy this constitution, not by the quill pen." But the question is how long he will hold the quill pen or rather the reed pen which he is doing at present?

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British parliamentary democracy. The constitution foisted on us is also modelled more or less on

the British pattern. But there is an essential difference between the body-politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable, tomorrow liberal and the day after labour. But such is not the case with India. Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of time hope to become majorities. The majority can afford to assume a non-communal label, but it remains exclusively Hindu in its spirit and action. The only hope for minorities is to organize themselves and secure definite and statutory safe-guards for their rights and interests. Without such safe-guards no constitution can work successfully in India.

My appeal to you is: Come to the platform of the League. If Muslims are united the settlement will come sooner than you think. You will have established your claim to achieve freedom. After a few months' work the League's name is known in every corner of India. Lakhs of people are joining it. Even those who are against us, will realise that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make the Mussalman speak with one voice.

What the League has done is to set you free from the reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Maulvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other; but there is a section of them which is undesirable.

Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and the Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential. I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West. What I mean is

that they must share our life, not only social but also political.

The personnel of the League is far from being perfect. It is no use making allegations; it is no use telling me this man is bad or that man is undesirable. If you are really in earnest your only course is to join the League and make improvements.

I am convinced and you will agree with me that the Congress policy is to divide the Muslims among themselves. It is the same old tactics of the British Government. They follow the policy of their masters. Don't fall into the trap. This is a moment of life and death for the Mussalmans. Take it from me that unless there is unity among the Muslims at any cost, they will be lost. If our house is defective we must set it right ourselves. If you support us we will set it right ourselves as we like and desire.

Mr. President, I have received from you to-day the greatest message of hope. March forward and no power on earth can resist you. I find in front of me the finest recruiting ground. Lakhs are ready to serve the platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. To make a good efficient soldier you at least require a year. To make a good subaltern at least five years are required. I see enormous power latent in these people. This stage has been more easily reached than the stage of harnessing them and mobilising them and making them a political army. What is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims? If Wardha makes any decision and issues orders tomorrow, millions of Hindus will follow and obey. I ask you suppose the Muslim League were to issue any order what will happen to it? We are not sufficiently equipped and trained and therefore it will be difficult to produce lakhs of Muslims to carry out orders. The British Government is always thinking of what the Congress is doing, what is going to be the repercussion of the British policy in

> the Congress camp. But will the British Government think of you? No, because you are not an organised power. Therefore, develop your power and establish your solidarity.
>
> The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed.

The Congress was also returned in thumping majorities in certain provinces. Every one knew that their opposition to the Act and even to the non-acceptance of office was only a show. By its resolution of the 1st March 1937, the Congress had declared that it entered the legislature not to co-operate with the new constitution or the government but to combat the Act and the policy underlying it and that the immediate objective of the Congress in the legislature was to fight the constitution and further stated that the Congress members of the legislature were not to co-operate with any function or activity calculated to enhance the power or prestige of British Imperialism in India. Just after this, it was known that the Congress came in clear majority in many provinces by capturing all the Hindu seats and the governors invited the party leaders whose following was 98% Hindu members to form the ministries. The offer was refused on the plea that they demanded an assurance from the Governors that they would not exercise special powers. This being summarily refused by the Governors, the interim ministries were formed. Lord Zetland in the House of Lords, and Mr.

Butler in the House of Commons made it clear that "these assurances could not be given, for the special powers of the governors are a part of the Act which he is not authorised and competent enough to delete." These shilly-shallying tactics were continued. All this fun was created with a view to show to the world that the Congress was not after office but had rejected the much absurd Act already. No less was the fear of the socialists who were openly preaching against office-acceptance. The Congress called a Convention in Delhi. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in moving the resolution for office-acceptance said, "now it (working committee) had recommended that office should be accepted but it did not mean that there was any change in Congress policy. They were not running after offices." The Socialists led the opposition and considered acceptance of ministries as inconsistent with the policy laid down and were of the opinion that the struggle for the national independence would be weakened. It should be amusing to note that these very persons who had declared their faith in the policy of wrecking and in a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of their own, were now satisfied to work a constitution thrust upon them against their will. Mr. Satyamurti, the champion of office-acceptance, openly said that not to accept office would be a fraud, without realizing that the whole opposition to the Act by the Congress, the conditions laid down for acceptance of office were all frauds and even the Congress was returned in the various legislatures on fraudulent promises. Even a non-changer like

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was on the side of Mr. Gandhi and had deserted his old Socialist comrades. The All-India Congress Committee thus allowed to pass Dr. Rajendra Prasad's resolution on the acceptance of office. The Congress had also convened a National Convention in which Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru presided and frankly admitted that "only in regard to the Muslim seats did we lack success." But it was here that he vehementally criticised the Muslim League and pleaded for Muslim mass contact. The Congress was on the look out for some pretext to which they could use as the minimum satisfaction of their injured vanity and to accept office thereby. The opportunity soon came in a broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy. A genthman's agreement was entered between Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi by which the Congress obtained the assurance that practically speaking the Governors would not exercise their powers so far as these related to their "special responsibilities" with the disastrous results that when the Congress came to power the Muslims in all these Provinces were thrown to the wolves. The Congress accordingly in its Working Committee meeting on 8th July, 1937, allowed the Congressmen to accept office considering the various pronouncements on behalf of the British Government as a desire to make an approach to the Congress demands though these pronouncements fell short of the assurances demanded in terms of the All-India Congress Committee resolution.

The Congress refused to coalesce or co-operate with other bodies in the legislature or even form coalition ministries. The general feeling among all progressive groups before the elections and sometimes after the elections also was that the Muslim League party among the Mussalmans and the Congress party among the non-Muslims would co-operate in the legislature to further the common interest of the people. The League had routed the conservative and the reactionary elements which had so far monopolised the leadership of the Mussalmans. The policy and programme set forth in the election manifesto of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board were of advanced national character and were in no way behind those of the Congress so far as the constructive aspect of extracting the maximum benefit out of the provincial part of the constitution was concerned. The Muslim League had consistently declared its willingness to work with other groups and parties having approximately similar aims and objects and made friendly offers of co-operation to the Congress but no sooner had the results of the elections been known, than the Congress became intoxicated with power and changed its mind. The Congress had not won a single Muslim seat in any province except perhaps one or two seats in the Punjab and Bihar but contrary to all notions of equity and fair-play, it chose to ignore the existence of Muslims as a political entity and decided to ride roughshod over them by sheer force of number. The first provocative and disparaging utterance came

from the Congress President himself who declared with characteristic impetuosity that there were only two parties in the country the Congress and the Government and others must simply line up. Mr. Jinnah naturally could not allow such a sweeping statement to go unchallenged. He replied that besides the Congress and the Government there was a third party, the Mussalmans and they could not be ignored in any political re-adjustment. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru instead, of welcoming the offer of co-operation made by the League, refused to acknowledge the existence of Mussalmans as a political unit and dismissed the question of Minorities as no question at all. The wholesome atmosphere of mutual good-will and co-operation was killed outright by the callousness and vanity of Mr. Nehru and the Congress. War was declared on the Muslim League and a campaign of Muslim mass-contact was launched with a view to breaking up the solidarity of Muslims and weaning them away from their accredited leaders. It is well known how a few renegades from the Muslim ranks who did not command the confidence of Muslim members of the Legislatures were appointed and passed off as Muslim ministers in contravention of the letter and spirit of the Constitution and the Instrument of Instructions. In the United Provinces, the Muslim League Party was even prepared to accept the Congress programme in its entirety and undertook to work it in co-operation with the Congress, but the offer was spurned with impunity. Unconditional surrender, signing of the Congress

pledges, liquidation of the Muslim League Party, in other words complete extinction of political existence was demanded from the Mussalmans. No self-respecting Mussalman could tolerate such a domineering and insulting attitude for the sake of a few ministerships and then the actual conduct of the Congress ministries ever since the acceptance of office tended more and more to alienate the sympathies of the Mussalmans and affirmed their suspicion of Hindu domination. The most reasonable proposals, the most legitimate demands put forward in the legislatures were turned down merely because they came from Muslim League members. The proposals for the separation of judiciary from the executive which had been the principal item of the Congress programme itself was now rejected because it was felt unnecessary with the Congress at the helm of affairs. Further the very simple and unexceptionable amendment moved by the Muslim League to the Congress resolution on the Constituent Assembly was contemptuously rejected. The amendment merely sought to ensure that "in the absence of an agreed settlement, the method and measure of representation of Mussalmans on the Constituent Assembly shall be the same as that provided in the Communal Award and that the personal law and the religious, civic and political rights of the Mussalmans shall not be varied without the consent of three-fourth Muslim representation." Whenever the Muslim League Party sought to ventilate the grievances of general public, the Muslim League was told that it was none of their

business as if public service was the monopoly of the Congress. In provinces ruled by the Congress every attempt was being made to foist Hindu religious practices, Hindu forms, Hindu traditions and culture on the minority. 'Bande Mataram,' a most vituperative poem full of Anti-Islamic bias was sung as the national song in legislatures, schools, local boards not to say of public meetings. Hindi was to be the national language of India. The artificial term of 'Hindustani' was only a cloak to cover up the mischievous move to suppress 'Urdu' and enforce 'Hindi' on the country. Mr. Gandhi, who to-day is the 'persona grata' of the Congress, is the most staunch protagonist of Hindi, having already identified himself with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Maulvi Abdul-Huq, the secretary of Anjuman Tarraqi-e-Urdu, who has taken up the cause of Urdu and exposed the hollowness of the Congress opposition to it, in a statement said, that Mr. Gandhi threw over-board the cloak of hypocrisy which he had been long wearing as regards Urdu. Numbers of instances can be cited to show that how the Congress started maltreating the Mussalmans, injuring the interests in a province under its rule and had stirred up trouble in provinces where Muslims were in power. The very fact that the Congress demanded an assurance from the Governors indicated the line of policy which they had in their mind to adopt. They wanted that in suppressing the Mussalmans the Governors should not interfere because of the special responsibilities that devolved on them.

The Congress denounced the Government of India Act 1935 as totally unacceptable, talked of ending the Act and wrecking the constitution, and the moment it saw that in eight provinces there were Muslim prime ministers, the bug-bear of Muslim raj began to loom large before the Mahatma's eyes. By some mysterious process of reasoning, he brought round the Congress to accept office under the Act and to work it without receiving the assurances that were made the condition precedent to the acceptance of office. The communism of Jawaharlal melted before the frown of Mahatma. The Mahatma, though not even a four anna member of Congress at present, issues a command from his pontifical pedestal and that is instinctively obeyed. There is no need of citing instances of the vast hiatus between the professions and practices of both the High Command and the rank and file of the Congress. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru talks of hunger and poverty, goes about threatening zemindars with complete extinction and brings the large peasants under his influence. The Hindu industrial magnates, merchants, princes and money-lenders, the real blood-suckers of millions of poor men, receive his blessings, for they feed the Congress organisation. He assured the mill-owners of Bombay that one could amass any amount of wealth and yet remain a Socialist! The Congress never hesitated to break its principle whenever it suited its purposes. Alliances and co-operation with Muslim parties in provinces where Congress commanded a majority was refused on the principle of collective

responsibility. In the N. W. F. P., and afterwards in Assam the Congress party was promptly allowed to enter into an alliance with other parties in order to form the cabinet. Temptations and baits were held out in the form of Ministerships and jobs to wavering Muslims to desert their community and join the Congress, so that the world may be made to believe that the Congress was not ignoring Muslim interests.

In Mr. Jinnah's words, "the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy." The Machiaevillian demagogues of the Congress in their attempts to bamboozle the Mussalmans found a fertile soil for their nefarious propaganda in Muslim students. Attractive slogans and shibboleths which in their effect mean nothing were bandied about soaps and cigarettes for sale at cheap rates. The young impressionable mind of the Muslim student who, as ill-luck would have it, had had no grounding in his own religious and political philosophy, fell an easy prey to this seductive phraseology and ideology. The chief target of attack was Muslim religion and culture. Mr. Jawaharlal could only imagine religion as a bundle of dead forms and formulas or a decadent social system which cannot withstand the onslaughts of time. He denied the existence of anything like Muslim culture for, it was beyond his comprehension to know it with his blurred vision. He could only locate Muslim culture in a shaven head, a flowing beard, close-cropped moustaches, a particular type

of trousers and a 'lota' with a peculiar form of snout. Those who did not agree with the Congress were called reactionaries and toadies.

The Congress far from being a national organisation became the symbol of Hindu revivalism and Hindu raj under the aegies of British crown for their exploitation and suppression of minorities. The Brahmin hierarchy and the British bureaucracy entered into an unholy alliance. The British Government threw all its notion of its governmental prestige to the winds and went out of its way to placate the Hindus. British Imperialism consistently pandered to the whims and fancies of the majority community. The whole situation in fact was very distressing. Mr. Jinnah in an speech in Bombay deprecated the whole position and referred to his attempts in bringing about a Hindu-Muslim unity and accused the Congress leaders of apathy and indifference. He said:

> At times it is very difficult to say who are Congress leaders and who are Mahasabha leaders for the line of demarcation between the two with regard to a large number of them is very thin indeed. Neither Babu Rajendra Prasad nor I had any authority to come to a binding agreement. Babu Rajendra Prasad tried to ascertain the concensus of opinion among Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders regarding the formula which he had himself approved of but it was found that not only the Hindu Mahasabha leaders rejected it out of hand but even a certain section of influential Congress leaders were deadly opposed to the formula which therefore had to be dropped as it was useless to

proceed with.*

The situation as it stood was very depressing as can be clear by the events. Before the Muslim League took its rebirth under the fostering care of Mr. Jinnah in April 1936, he was watching the trend of events and he had realised all these forces and for that reason he made timely and herculean efforts to organise and consolidate the forces of the Muslims. He knew that the ruinous policy of the Congress would harm the Muslims. Muslim public opinion was steadily veering round the League in spite of the disruptive activities of the Congress and the defection of some Muslims. Muslim political opinion could no longer be hoodwinked. Mr. Jinnah, therefore, decided to call the session on the 15th October 1937 at Lucknow. Never before had such a representative conference of the Mussalmans been held. By a strange coincidence Mr. Jinnah was to preside over the momentous session in the very city where twenty-one years ago he had presided over a session which formed a land-mark in the political history of India. To complete the coincidence the chair of the Reception committee was appropriately occupied by the worthy son of a worthy father (the late Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad) who filled the same office in 1916. The Muslim community demonstrated in no uncertain manner its resolute determination to live honourably

*The correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Rajendra Prasad throws much light on the communal question.

in the country of their birth and if necessary to die rather than be bullied and dominated by the majority community. Two events which immediately preceded the opening meeting of the session enhanced the prestige and representative character of the Muslim League. As a result of conversation between Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, it was announced that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party would join the Muslim League in a body. They agreed to accept the policy and programme of the Muslim League and submit themselves to the control of the Provincial League Parliamentary Board. The following Jinnah-Sikandar Pact was signed:

> (1) That on his return to the Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all Muslim members of his party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All India Muslim League. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition and Unionist Party. (2) That in future elections and bye-elections for the legislature after the adoption of this arrangement, the groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support the candidates put up by their respective groups. (3) That the Muslim members of the legislature who are elected on or accept the League ticket will constitute the Muslim League Party within the legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles, policy and programme of the League. Such alliances may be evolved upon after the elections. The existing combination

shall maintain its present name, the "Unionist Party." (4) In view of the aforesaid agreement the Provincial League Parliamentary Board shall be reconstituted.

The announcement was hailed as a triumph of Mr. Jinnah's sagacity and Sir Sikandar Hayat's statesmanship, for though actually he was not in need of Muslim League's support for the stability of his Ministry, yet his decision to join the League was a recognition of the necessity of an All-India Muslim Party, in the interest of the Muslim community as a whole which could support the Mussalmans in provinces where they are in a hopeless minority. A similar announcement about the readiness of the Proja Party members of the Muslim coalition group to join the League was made by Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier. For the first time the Muslim League had approached the masses and a general awakening was already created. The League Session at Lucknow presented a unique spectacle. On each face was writ large a firm determination to fight, and fight to the last. In his prophetic words Raja of Mahmudabad said, "we are here not to follow history but to create history." Mr. Jinnah in his address made a searching analysis of the political situation and subjected the selfish, the short-sighted policy of the Congress to a trenchant criticism. He cautioned Mussalmans to beware of the sinister attempts made by the Congress to divide them, and fervently appealed to them to organise themselves into a solid, compact body and to establish their unity and solidarity which no

power on earth can resist.

The 17th October will go down as a red-letter day in the history of the All India Muslim League, for on that fateful day the League took a momentous decision in changing its creed from full responsible government to full independence. The honour of moving the resolution fell to the lot of that redoubtable champion of freedom, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, who said that though he had failed to carry his independence resolution in the Ahmadabad Congress Session due to Mr. Gandhi's opposition, yet he felt happy that this had enabled him to move it in the Muslim League which he was sure would pass unanimously. Hasrat Mohani indulged in some frank talk about the Congress pretensions and characterised the cry of freedom from the Congress platform as fraudulent and dishonest. He also said, "Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and others are talking of breaking, tearing and burning the federal plan but he was convinced that Messrs. Gandhi, Nehru and Malavia would very soon accept it with thanks for they believed that although it might not bring real independence and freedom for India, it would inaugurate Hindu raj at the Centre as in the Provinces and that the entry of the Hindu princes in the Government of India would strengthen the power and position of Hindus as a whole. Those people who believed that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was above communalism or that he was the man who would solve the communal problem by bringing lasting amity and unity between the Hindus and Muslims, either

were living in a fools' paradise or are the enemy of Islam in India. Jawaharlal's secret of popularity with the Hindus was his wanton attack on Muslim leaders and his pet theories are, that there is no Hindu-Muslim problem that the question of minorities did not exist at all and that the Muslims had no separate culture, individuality, distinguished from that of the Hindus requiring any special safeguard for their protection and preservation. This was exactly the plea of "Mahasabhaite Hindu communalists." Accordingly Bhai Permanand the president of Hindu Mahasabha has welcomed Pandit Nehru's statements and congratulated him on his boldness. The fundamentally Hindu nature and Brahmanical communalism of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not decreasing but increasing in intensity.

The League's resolution on independence which was adopted runs thus:

> Resolved that the object of the All India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other Minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution.

The fundamental difference between the Congress and the League creed is that the Congress creed of complete independence has been so variously interpreted by Congress leaders that in effect it has come to mean nothing. Mr. Jinnah maintained that the objective of the League should

be clarified as to leave no room for doubt. The clause relating to means, was deliberately left out, for, the Muslims as a community are not pledged to Non-violence and Satyagraha as a creed. The Muslims are nothing if not realists, and therefore the League has not committed itself to any particular means and would adopt any means according as the situation warrants. The resolution was carried unanimously amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and acclamation. The League also reiterated its emphatic disapproval of the scheme of federation as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, and considered it detrimental to the interests of the people of India and those of the Muslims in particular. The Muslim League offered this opportunity to the Congress to join hands in their opposition to the federal plan but the Muslim League was convinced that the opposition to the federal scheme by the Congress was ephemeral, for the Congress had rejected the amendment in its session which had recommended direct action and resignation of Congress ministries in provinces, obstruction to the formation of other ministries, in order to prevent the introduction of federation. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in a memorandum, admitted that Federation now seems inevitable and that the Congress could not single-handed prevent its introduction even if it refrained from participation in federal elections. At the meeting of the A. I. C. C., he went a step further and made it clear that he was against committing the Congress to a federal form of go-

vernment. "The Congress might favour a unitary form of Government if that was suitable." Signs therefore were not wanting to show that the time was sure to come when some kind of formula would be evolved on the question of Federation and as Mr. Jinnah said, "The Congress will quietly accept it as a *fait accompli* as it has done the Provincial constitution despite the rantings of some of thefore-most leaders of the Congress against it." The session also evolved a definite programme for the economic, social and cultural improvement of the community. This resolution was moved by the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad. The resolution moved by Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad runs thus:

> This session of the All India Muslim League directs the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to take immediate steps to frame and put into effect an economic, social and educational programme with a view :—
>
> To fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers.
>
> To fix minimum wages.
>
> To improve housing and hygienic conditions of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance.
>
> To reduce rural and urban debts and abolish usury.
>
> To grant a moratorium with regard to all debts whether decreed or otherwise till proper legislation has been enacted.
>
> To secure legislation for exemption of houses from attachment or sale in execution of decrees.
>
> To obtain security of tenure and fixation of fair rents and revenue.

To abolish forced labour.

To undertake rural uplift work.

To encourage cottage industries and small indigenous industries both in rural and urban areas.

To encourage use of Swadeshi articles specially hand-woven cloth.

To establish an industrial board for development of industries and prevention of exploitation by middlemen.

To devise means for the relief of unemployment.

To advance compulsory primary education.

To recognise secondary, university education specially scientific and technical.

To establish rifle clubs and a military College.

To enforce prohibition.

To abolish and remove un-Islamic customs and usages from Muslim Society.

To organise a volunteer corps for social service; and

To devise measures for attainment of full independence and invite the co-operation of all political bodies working to that end.

In moving the resolution Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad said that he would be prepared to give up his estate if it was decided to abolish zemindari. He considered the present distribution of wealth and its concentration among the few rich, against the very spirit of Islam. In conclusion, the Raja Saheb declared that the Muslims should follow the Socialist programme for that would be in accordance with the Islamic principles. Among other questions, question of Palestine loomed large.

The enthusiasm caused by the success of the Lucknow Session was kept up by an intensive organisation of branch Leagues in every province and district. Mr. Jinnah undertook a long tour

and explained the Muslim point of view in every nook and corner of the country. His speech in Patna on October 27, 1937, while surveying the whole situation also cleared the many misunderstandings and furnished an ample answer to the critics of the League. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had described the League Session as the last ditch of political reaction. He was so confident of his programme of mass contact that he closed his eyes to all the realities. Naturally such sweeping allegations and remarks could not go unchallenged. Mr. Jinnah in his speech said:

> But we hear of mass contact. For what? To get hold of men who will be their creatures, who will sign their programme and sing "Bande Mataram." Just see the monstrosity of this! The majority of the Muslims have no confidence in those Muslims who are willing to sign the pledge to work out the policy of the Congress. Yet these are just the persons who are accepted as ministers—Muslim Ministers at that. This is adding insult to the injury. It is following the policy of the ostrich. They think that we are all fools. They say, here is a Muslim minister. That man struts about in the Province as a Muslim minister. He manages somehow or other. He betrays the party whose pledge he signed. He says he has changed his views; he says he does not agree with the party any more, not because we have done anything wrong, for we have not done anything at all. Yet such a man is made to pass as a Muslim minister!

Events were fast moving. Communal antagonism was increasing. The Congress was precipitating a most fatal crisis under the garb of independence. Muslims were not wholly wrong in

thinking that the Congress was furtively moving after the establishment of Hindu Empire, that it was playing a most dangerous political game under extremely polished cover of fine and choice phraseology. The fact is that its activities and movements originate from Hinduistic conception. The Congress is very prompt to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti and Tilak day and so on. Everything of theirs has a Hindu name, Ashrams and Bande Mataram. A National organisation is expected to represent equally the feelings of every class. The galaxy of the leaders is essentially and entirely composed of the Hindus and a few henchmen of theirs. It represents predominently and overwhelmingly Hinduistic notions. The case of C. P. Government in introducing educational institutions on communal lines like Vidya Mandir Scheme irrespective of its repercussions on other communities is a most glaring one. Vidya Mandir Scheme is evolved on the basis of purely Hinduistic notions. The whole scheme is deliberate move launched in order to strike out the cultural identity of the Muslims. In their enthusiasm the C. P. Government went so far as to issue a government circular to prefix Mahatma with the name of Mr. Gandhi. In Assembly sessions 'Bande Mataram' was sung, and the Congress was unmindful of the walk-outs staged by the Mussalmans—The scheme for the introduction of joint electorate in the various local bodies was another flagrant breach of the Congress—Communal disturbances were the order of the day. The Congress seemed

to be outwardly affected by the growing discontentment among the Mussalmans, and its Working Committee, in November, adopted another resolution on the minority rights in which they repeated their solemn pledges for protecting the interest of the Minorities and declared their objective as an "independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage," and repeated the fundamental rights of every citizen. But its intrinsic value was only that of a paper resolution. Thus a gesture was given by the Congress in favour of Hindu-Muslim Pact and Mr. Gandhi took the lead. The necessity of making this Hindu-Muslim Pact was felt by Mr. Gandhi because of the growing strength of the All India Muslim League. The Muslim League had risen to great heights. Mr. Gandhi who wanted this organisation to merge with the Congress and to give up its individual identity by acceptance of the Congress principles was keen on having a pact signed. Mr. Nehru opened the negotiations, but failed to come to terms. His militant style did not appeal to Mr. Jinnah. However, Mr. Gandhi intervened and decided to go to Mr. Jinnah personally and have a talk. He entered into a long correspondence with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Gandhi's mission as he said was Hindu-Muslim unity. He wanted to effect a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League. Unfortunately, Mr. Gandhi once again wavered and went to Mr. Jinnah not as a Hindu, but as a Spiritualist. "Before the negotiations

start for the communal pact," said Mr. Jinnah, "declare yourself and your organisation the Indian Congress as a Hindu body, and the Muslim League as a soul representative organisation of the Muslims." Mr. Gandhi as usual first hesitated and then refused. The position of the Muslim League was perfectly clear. If Muslims spoke through the Muslim League, where was the Hindu body to settle the Hindu-Muslim points! It was the Congress. The talks between Mr. Jinnah on the one hand, and Mr. Bose as the president of the Congress, on the other, continued for sometime but, before coming to a decision Mr. Jinnah decided to consult his Working Committee. Later he sent a unanimous reply to Mr. Bose in which it was made clear that:

> The Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League considered the note handed over by the President, Mr. Subhas Bose, on behalf of the Congress to Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, on the 14th May, and his letter of the 15th May, 1938, and find that it is not possible for the All-India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans of India.

In the sphere of the Muslim League's activities among the Mussalmans, the Muslim League had to face the greatest opposition from the Punjab. The feelings of Mussalmans over the Shaheedgunj mosque affair were roused. Mussalmans were offering

themselves for arrests and there was great tension between the Sikhs and the Muslims. To consider this question a special session was convened in Calcutta. Before the session, the Council of the All India Muslim League decided to observe the 18th of February as the Shaheedgunj Day. Meetings were held all over the country and the resolution of the League was carried out.

> In view of the decision of the Punjab Premier, expressing his readiness to resign even if the majority of the Muslim Members give their verdict disapproving of his action foreshadowed in his recent pronouncement with regard to the Shahidganj question, the Council realize that the main burden and responsibility rests with the Muslim representatives of the Punjab Legislature and the public generally. The Council appreciatė that the gravity and the nature of the issues involved are present to the mind of Sir Sikandar Hayat and his Government; the assurance given by him in his pronouncement of his making an earnest attempt bring about an honourable settlement of the question is the best course in the opinion of the Council, and in this direction lies the way of restoring and securing a permanent peace and goodwill between the two great sister communities Muslims and Sikhs, whose moral responsibility to each other, whose interest and the welfare, and the larger interest of the Province and the country, demand that, with their great history, religion and traditions behind them, they should rise above the verdicts of Judicial Tribunals and the decisions of legislatures and Government, and rise to the occasion and come to an honourable settlement of their own, that failing such a decision of legislatures and Government, such a desideratum of mutual agreement of the parties concerned, which will be most unfortunate, Council note, with great satisfaction, the determina-

tion of the Punjab Government that it will not fail to explore and exhaust all constitutional avenues open to them to find a satisfactory and just solution of the problem to which, Council are glad, they are already applying themselves; and that, while the final decision as to the policy and the line of action can only be decided by the All India Muslim League, the Council, in the meantime, are willing and ready to render all the assistance and help they can towards the solution of the matter.

Regarding the treatment of the Congress ministries of the Mussalmans Mr. Jinnah in his presidential address said:

Numerous representations and complaints have reached the Central Office of hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to Mussalmans in the various Government Provinces, and particularly to those who were workers and members of the All-India Muslim League, and therefore the Council were obliged to appoint a special Committee under the Chairmanship of Raja Sahib Mahomed Mehdi Sahib to make all necessary inquiries and to take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the Council and the President.

The Council also decided authorizing me as the President to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature with power to the party so formed to coalesce with any other party or group whose policy and programme is approximately the same as that of the All-India Muslim League. In pursuance of that Resolution I am glad to inform you that a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature in both the Houses had been formed and will function in the Legislature under the supervision and control of the Council of the All-India Muslim League from the next Session of the Central Legislature.

We get proof of the arrogance of the Congress from the correspondence carried out between Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah as also between the former and Nawab Ismail Khan. The Congress in Muslim Provinces was playing its game with the Muslim ministries. The Congress Party within the Assembly in Calcutta intrigued with other parties and tried to overthrow the Huq ministry. The feelings of the Mussalmans were so high and they presented such a unique spectacle that never in the history of Calcutta had such a demonstration occurred. The Congress members had to sleep for their safety in the Council Chamber for the whole night. The whole of Bengal was agitated and frantic demonstrations in favour of Huq Ministry were witnessed allround the city. Fortunately, the machinations of the Congress failed in Bengal. Similar frantic efforts were being made in Assam which had a Muslim Premier. The Congress which was the loudest in proclaiming against coalition went out of its way in the formation of another coalition cabinet in Assam on the plea that such a policy involved change or modification in policy. Consequent on the resignation of the Saadullah Ministry in Assam, Mr. Bardoloi, the leader of opposition, was invited to form the Ministry and he accepted the offer. All this was done on the advice and with the concurrence of the Congress President, Mr. Bose and Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, a member of the Congress Parliamentary Committee.

The Muslim League had already appointed a committee under the Raja Saheb of Pirpore to en-

quire into the alleged grievances of the Mussalmans. The record of the communal riots all over India, specially in the Congress Provinces was appalling. The communal riots of India as they increase assumed a most tragic, contagious and grim aspect (Sharif reports published in 2 volumes). The statistical record of the Indian communal riots would need a volume to be composed of. The Government of Madras enforced Hindustani language, in fact, Hindi, in Southern India. To beat down the opposition the Criminal Law Amendment Act was made use of. The Congress had another gift for the Mussalmans in the shape of Wardha Scheme. The whole scheme of education so obnoxious from the Muslim point of view and a close examination reveals that within the shortest possible time of its introduction, it will undermine the Muslim culture, Muslim civilization and Muslim traditions. Honourable A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, while presiding over the All India Muslim Educational Conference in Patna, discussed in detail the implications of this scheme. He also struck a note of caution:

> I fully realise that the Wardha Scheme will in all probability be introduced in provinces where the Congress is in power. This is why I desire to warn the Congress High Command that if this scheme be enforced on the Muslims against their will, it will not only stand in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity, but will also widen the gulf between the two commuities to such an extent that it may be impossible in future to bridge it over. That will certainly not be a happy position and it is easy to

realise the unhappy consequences that will ensue.

The charge of the Mussalmans of a fascist tendency in the Congress came true rather too soon. On account of the Hindu agitation over a certain issue Mr. Shareef the Minister was compelled to resign his ministership in the C. P. The Congress had exploited to a very great extent the purge of certain refractory elements from the Muslim League like Sir Wazir Hasan and Seth Yaqub Husain whose pronouncements and activities were definitely detrimental to the organisation itself. By openly allying themselves with the Congress organisation, denouncing those Mussalmans who had joined the Muslim League, the League with justification for its own security and discipline had to chuck these people out. But the treatment meted out to one of its own premiers Dr. Khare in C. P., is one of the darkest pages in the Congress history that goes to prove the dictatorial attitude adopted by Mr. Gandhi. The tyranny of expulsion of Mr. Nariman from the Congress fold was yet fresh in when the Khare episode took place. The Congress had similarly started agitation in the Indian states but the sole object of its policy was to bring the rulers of the Indian states to their knees and to force them to join formation of the ministries when the time comes. The Hindu-Muslim unity talks were already given a decent burial. Mr. Bose as the president of the Congress had in his statement accused the Muslim League.

The Muslim League was gaining strength day by day. The province which owed its existence to

the efforts of Mr. Jinnah organised itself in no time and called one of its own sons to preside over the provincial sessions of Karachi. From the broader point of view, Muslims in majority provinces needed to be more strengthened. The wonderful reception given to Mr. Jinnah which Princes might envy showed that a real feeling and genuine love for the Muslim League had overtaken the Mussalmans in every nook and corner.

The Muslim India at this time suffered an irreparable loss in the death of that great noble and inspiring leader of Mussalmans, Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, and another blow came in the sad demise of that great champion of the Mussalmans, that stalwart rock of Muslims, Maulana Shaukat Ali.

Under a heavy shadow of grief which the Mussalmans had suffered in the loss of these two great persons on the one hand and the Congress atrocities on the other, the All-India Muslim League held its session in Patna. Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz as the Chairman of the Reception Committee justifying the fears of the Mussalmans observed that the Congress "in reality wanted to establish Hindu Raj in which the military and external powers of the British would remain intact while the administration and internal powers were vested in the Hindu majority who would set about reducing the Mussalmans to a state of serfdom had been amply justified and confirmed." The entire credit for the Patna session goes to the untiring effort, energy, selflessness enthusiasm and ability of Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz, who was the President of Bihar Provincial

organisation, as well. Mr. Aziz's address covered the whole field of political activities and left a very high impression of his political insight. Very soon Bihar organisation under his guidance, became the best organised League of India. Mr. Jinnah, rising amidst deafening cheers, delivered his extempore speech in the course of which he said:

> They wanted to establish an authoritative totalitarian and Fascist Hindu Raj. They had a Congress majority in seven Provinces and in the other, although they had no majority, they were striving their utmost to delude the Muslims there into believing that the League was an ally of imperialism and the imperialistic Government and thereby alienate them from the League. Mr. Jinnah challenged anyone to prove that he had identified himself with imperialistic interests. Nowhere in my career have I allied myself with imperialism, outside or inside the Legislature. As for the League it would never be an ally of anyone except the Muslim nation. The Congress wanted sufficient powers at the Centre solely to direct its activities against the present Governments in the Provinces where the Muslims were at the helm of affairs. By means of the Federation the Congress would be able to reduce the four Muslim Provinces into mere feudatories. If the status of the Muslim League is to be raised, the Muslims will have to organise ceaselessly.

"Speaking in Urdu, Mr. Jinnah welcomed the growth of the national awakening among Muslims and added that the Muslim Mass Contact Movement of the Congress had failed despite the best efforts to obtain the allegiance of Muslims."

The resolution advocating direct action by the Muslims following the atrocities committed on them

in three Provinces and the suppression of their legitimate rights and interests was moved by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan and occupied almost the entire time of the second day's sitting of the League. Representatives from all the Congress provinces came one by one and cited the Congress atrocities. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab and Hon. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, supported the resolution and assured the Mussalmans of their solid support in all eventualities. Mr. Fazlul Huq assured the Mussalmans that the moment the civil disobedience movement was launched, not a single Muslim Minister would be left who would not join it. The Muslim League by other resolutions expressed its determination to resist Federal Scheme and demanded from the British Government to change its policy, which was a direct challenge to Islamic doctrines.

The League also stepped forward and appointed a committee of women to organise the Muslim women who were backward in every sphere of life and as such were an obstacle to the economic and social progress of the Muslims. The activities of the Hindus against Hyderabad were condemned equally. After passing a number of other resolutions the most important being, vesting all the powers in the President to decide the question of Federation, the League Session adjourned.

In the industrial field for the first time the Muslim League had organised an industrial exhibition aimed at encouraging industrial pursuits in the Muslim masses, and thus Muslim League proved

its credentials of being the sole representative of the Mussalmans of India.

By now all Muslim leaders who in the beginning had remained aloof from the League joined it again. Nawab Sahib of Chhittari, Nawab Sir Yusuf and others started taking a very keen interest in the reorganisation of the Muslims. Nawab Sahib of Chhittari in his Province moved for the appointment of a Committee to draw up a plan for making the lot of the Muslims better and happier in every walk of life.

CHAPTER XIV

THE YEAR 1939 AND SINCE

The glaring instances of high-handedness and repression against the Mussalmans by the Congress Ministries and even Congress Committees came to light in the form of the publication of Pirpore Report, the Shareef Reports and the charge-sheet against the Congress by the Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Huq. The stiff-necked, callous and domineering attitude of the Congress was not confined to the precincts of the Legislature and Secretariat, where they sat enconsced on ministerial *guddis* but it had its repercussions far and wide in the cities and towns and the remotest hamlets. As Mr. Jinnah said:

> Does Pandit Jawaharlal know that all along the countryside specially, many of the ten thousand Congress Committees and even some of the Hindu officers are behaving as if Hindu Raj has already established and in the Provinces where Muslims hold a dominant voice, every nerve is moved to destroy the ministries in these Provinces? I have received numerous complaints of arrogance and injustice meted out to Muslims generally and in particular to members of the Muslim League.

Drunk with success and power Congressmen were swept off their feet. Every move of the Con-

gress was, and is, a step in the direction of Hindu domination. The President of the Congress, Mr. Bose talked of Roman script as a happy solution of the language problem in his presidential address but what was his message to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan only a few days after? He declared that Hindi and Hindustani should be the lingua franca of India. The President of Sammelan, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, who is also the treasurer of the Congress, was more definite in his assertion that Hindi shall be the lingua franca of India, which is a resolution passed by the Conference. The Congress government in more than one Province made special provisions in the budget for the propagation of Hindi. At many places the Congress interfered with the civil liberties of the Muslims. In the Assembly the attitude of the Congress Party, and particularly the behaviour of the speakers of the Assemblies, was far from satisfactory. Even short-notice questions concerning the incidents were not answered. In many places, Muslim villages were burnt by a furious and organised Hindu mob. But the worst part of the story is the attitude of the majority community towards that vast dumb-driven multitudes the millions of untouchables, the Achoots and sachuts? The way the high caste Hindus have treated the poor helpless untouchables during all the centuries is, in Mr. Jinnah's words "a disgrace to humanity and civilisation." With the advent of Provincial Autonomy and the passing of a semblance of power into the hands of the Brahmin oligarchy, the Depressed Classes, even more than the

Muslims, began to feel the pinch of Congress tyranny and rapacity. Their condition is pitiable. They have no education, nor organisation, no press, no leadership. Their only true friends so far have been the Mussalmans. In sheer desperation they are looking to the Muslim League and to Mr. Jinnah to save them from utter debasement and destruction. They hail him as their saviour and beg him not to forget them in negotiating any settlement with the Congress. Mr. Jinnah in his turn has declared more than once that he felt no less for the down-trodden conditions of the Depressed Classes than for the Muslims. At the Round Table Conference, an offer was made to him by Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu delegates that they would concede all the demands of the Mussalmans provided he did not support the claims of the Depressed Classes, but Mr. Jinnah emphatically asserted that he turned down the nefarious proposals and never desisted from supporting the Depressed Classes.

While that was so, an alarming number of riots which broke out on the occasion of Holi and Mohurram in Congress Provinces, specially in U. P. and Bihar fierce and bitter clashes in some cases lasting for several days occurred at Benares, Allahabad, Banda, Barabanki, Jubbulpore, Gaya Bhagulpore and in hundreds of villages in India. The first fruit of the Congress Raj in the words of a Muslim League member of the U. P. Assembly was seen in the celebration of the Hindu festival of Holi with Muslim blood. What was the secret of this wide-spread wave of wanton desecration

of Muslim life and honour? Ever since the advent of Congress Ministries the impression had gone round that Swaraj, which to the Hindu mind is synonymous with Hindu Raj, had been established and the Hindus could impose their will, trample upon Muslim rights and sentiments, and play havoc with the life and property of the Muslims. Every action of the Congress Government tended to confirm the Hindus in this impression. The U. P. Cabinet issued a circular letter to district officers that they should co-operate and act in consultation with district Congress Committees and its office-bearers. The morale and prestige of the officers responsible for maintaining law and order and security of life and property received a rude shock. Their initiative and authority were paralyzed. The step taken by the Congress Cabinet was unprecedented in the history of democratic countries. If the Conservative party comes into power, it does not take it into its head to issue orders to the officers of the Government to act in consultation with the branches and committees of the party. The Government, if it is the government of the people or a National one does not accord preferential treatment to any political party. The Congress Government was very particular about claiming for itself the position of a National Government. The Congress Premiers loudly asserted that they were the guardians and trustees of the Minorities and their interests, but it was precisely in the areas governed by these self-appointed trustees that riots broke out. Several Congressmen, whether in the popu-

lous cities or the remote villages, thought that the promised Ram Raj of Mr. Gandhi was established and that he could do anything with impunity and that others lived at his mercy. Instead of categorically condemning such acts of provocation and intolerance the Congress leaders indulged in foisting the blame on the Muslim League. The whole fault of the Muslim League is its bold stand to defend the rights of Muslims and protect them from oppression. When the Congress leaders talk of the Indian nation they mean the Hindu majority and when they denounce the communalists they only have the Muslims in mind.

In spite of the heavy odds against which Mr. Subhas Bose had to fight he was elected the Congress President. This was a signal for a great uproar for he had made it clear in his various statements that he feared lest the Congress High Command should accept Federation and he was fighting the election on the definite pledge of his votaries to resist the imposition of such scheme till the last. Soon after his election Mr. Gandhi in a statement characterised Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's defeat as his own. On the eve of the Congress session other questions, particularly the interference of the Congress in the affairs of the Indian States, were cropping up. The Congress, by its previous resolution, had declared its policy of non-interference in the day-to-day administration of the Indian States, but inwardly it was encouraging the people of the various states to establish such organisations called as Praja Mandals and to clamour for rights. In Jaipore, Seth Jamna-

lal Bajaj, the treasurer of the Congress offered himself for arrest and Mr. Gandhi justified his actions. On April 2, in a statement to the Press, Mr. Gandhi said, "Swaraj within the States is not to be obtained by any non-violent trick. It will be won, if it is to be won by non-violence of the strong." In this very article he said:

> Provincial Autonomy such as it is has been won by civil resistance, however inferior it may have been. But do they realize that is likely to break down if Congress ministers cannot carry on without the aid of police and military i.e., without British guns...........The Hindu Muslim tension is to me the acid test. Congress corruption is a sure sign of violence.

Later came the Rajkot fast. The people of Rajkot had started Satyagraha at the instigation of Sirdar Patel. The Raja Saheb of Rajkot was much pressed and coerced by the Congress leaders and he had to come to some agreement with Mr. Patel. The state authorities afterwards realised that Sirdar Vallabhbhai Patel wanted to play the part of a dictator even in matters which least concerned him. Mr. Gandhi was looking forward for an opportunity and suddenly decided to go to Rajkot and in spite of the appeals by Mr. Bose and other Congress leaders, he did not attend the Congress session. His threat to fast until death in Rajkot was a political stunt which, however, ended in a fiasco and Mr. Gandhi broke his fast without his object having been attained for the Raja and Mr. Veervala his Minister remained unaffected by this fast. Appeals were made to the Viceroy to save the life of Mr. Gandhi. The

matter was finally referred to Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court.

Mr. Gandhi at that time wanted to nominate a committee to formulate proposals as he was given an option. Mr. Gandhi wanted an assurance from the Mussalmans and the respresentatives "to agree to work as one team with the Sirdar's other nominees." And as he further admitted "if this condition could not be fulfilled the very object of giving the Sirdar, that is the Parishad, the right to select all the seven members would be easily frustrated." The Mussalmans refused to agree to the suggestions of Mr. Gandhi as they reserved the rights of free expression but Mr. Gandhi ignored the existence of the Mussalmans and submitted the names to Raja Saheb of Rajkot and in his statement said that "I venture to suggest that the Sirdar's nominee have been selected after fulfilling the first indispensable condition of team work, so that they would all make a conscientious effort to represent, each in his own person, the whole of the interest of the people of Rajkot. Therefore, it will be doubly the duty of the seven members to safeguard and protect all the special and legitimate rights of the Muslims, the Bhayyats and the Harijans of Rajkot." After this statement Mr. Jinnah in a statement said that "Mr. Gandhi proved beyond doubt that he wants the Mussalmans to carry out his behests by insisting upon their agreeing beforehand to vote as he finally orders them to do even for the purpose of formulating the recommendation of the political advancement of the people of Rajkot."

This he said, "is a condition which could not be accepted by any self-respecting man." The fact that Mr. Gandhi insisted upon the majority for the Parishad said Mr. Jinnah made it quite clear that he did not desire to co-operate with the Mussalmans as his free and equal collaborators. He advised the Mussalmans to boycott the packed committee and assured the Mussalmans of Rajkot of his whole-hearted support.

The Congress had not abandoned its game of dividing the Mussalmans and with its few henchmen prepared to march and to carry out his orders. It created a situation distasteful to all the lovers of unity and good-relationship. There is circumstantial evidence to support the theory that the agitation for the public recital of Madhe-Sahaba was engineered by the Congress. It is unfortunate that the two sects of Islam should have been seen at logger-heads with each other and presenting themselves before the world as a laughing stock on their religion. The regrettable part is that the Muslim priests on account of sheer ignorance have allowed themselves to be exploited. The division between the two sects of the Sunnis and Shias is a historical one. If after the death of holy Prophet, Hazrat Ali could not succeed to Khilafat in place of Hazrat Abubakar as the first Caliph no human power today could change the order. But instead of minimising the differences and forgetting the past the feelings were being accentuated. Instead of propagating the true tenets of Islam their sentiments were exploited to recite publicly

the praises of the pious Caliphs by one sect knowing that by such acts the cause of Islam is not furthered and on the other hand the Muslims courting arrest by abusing the Caliphs. All this presented a sorry spectacle.

The entire episode which occupied Lucknow for months together is of an extremely suspicious nature. The Allsop Report was submitted more than two years ago. The then Government decided not to publish the Report. In a few days the question was dead and buried. Suddenly some Congress Muslims came to Lucknow from outside and started an agitation. Rumours went round that Congress were hiring people to go to jail. Suddenly a staunch Congress supporter Maulana Hosain Ahmad Madani arrived and Sunni wearing red-shirts from outside began to pour in. Most of them did not have the means to pay their railway fares to Lucknow. They were arrested in large numbers and when the number of arrest had reached a certain figure the Government decided to accord sanction for recitation of Madhe-Sahaba. The news caused consternation in responsible Sunni circles. This move was meant to discredit the League and as Raja Saheb of Salempore in his statement on April 4, 1939 said, "To my mind, the suspicion in different quarters that the move is meant and intended to discredit the Muslim League is fully justified by the way in which the Congress Government of these Provinces remained adamant on its previous order till Maulana Hosain Ahmad Madani and the Ahrar appeared on the scene."

Unfortunately the less-serious thinking population ignored the repeated warning administered by Mr. Jinnah. In his address to the students of the Aligarh University he had already recounted the events where the Congress was playing false with the Mussalmans and had spoken with his characteristic frankness of Congress machinations.

The Congress was pushing forward with its ideal of Wardha Scheme in matter of education and there was a suggestion urging Congress Governments to take over the control of all denominational and private educational institutions. Moreover the enthusiasm of Congress Ministries in pushing up the Wardha Scheme had alarmed the Musalmans. The League had appointed a committee for this purpose. The committee submitted its report to the Muslim League Council expressing the opinion that "to base an educational scheme on the creed of the leader of a political party is to impart a method of education that finds favour in totalitarian states and is clearly contrary to sound principles of education." It further revealed the fact that its aim was at supplanting all other religions by the new religion of Gandhism. The Committee found out that the Wardha Scheme would both prevent the progress of Urdu language and obliterate the religious traditions and cultures of Musalmans.

The Council of the All India Muslim League which met in April also passed resolutions on the affairs of Rajkot and Jaipore, and also adopted the following resolution on Hyderabad State.

"In view of the revolutionary unrest as a result of intensive propaganda launched by the Congress to establish Hindu hegemony all over India the Council trusts that, while giving full protections to the Musalmans of the Deccan who constitute the main strength of His Exalted Highness's dominion His Highness's Government will provide them adequate representation for the millions of depressed classes in the impending scheme of constitutional reforms. The Council views with alarm the united onslaught by Aryasamajists, Hindu Mahasabhaits and Congress members in Hyderabad on the pretext of Hindu religious liberty being in danger of extinction and protests against the policy of the paramount power in refusing to stop this subversive movement in India against the Nizam."

Similar resolution on Hyderabad was adopted at the Sholapore Muslim League Conference moved by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the president. The Shias and Sunnis of Lucknow were also warned to beware of "the surreptitious machinations of the enemies of Mussalmans to create and exploit the differences among them."

Mr. Jinnah also availed this opportunity of giving a stern warning to the British Government that they would be doing very great mistake if they thought that they could settle the Federation issue with the Congress leaving out the Muslim League and declared that in such a case the Muslim League would fight federation alone and make it impossible. Meanwhile, the differences between Mr. Bose and Gandhi increased. Mr. Bose tried his level best to get the co-operation of Mr. Gandhi, but made it clear at the same time that he would not blindly follow him, a thing which Mr. Gandhi wanted

first. Failing to get it and Mr. Gandhi not agreeing even to the two nominees of Mr. Bose in the Working Committee, he resigned. And the Congress High Command to which Mr. Jinnah characterised as the great Fascist Council by its own actions and domineering attitude and demeanour proved the veracity of Mr. Jinnah's contention. The affairs of the Congress had degenerated to such an extent that Mr. Patel in a public speech admitted that "lack of unity has been of late robbing the Congress of its power and prestige. It has begun to corrode our primary machine with the inevitable result that even the more confident and aggressive of us are becoming feeble and faint-hearted......Even prominent Congressmen have been thoughtlessly violating discipline." Mr. Patel further admitted that "people call me Hitler, but I tell you that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest Hitler I have seen." There cannot be a more frank confession.

How could the Congress sit quiet without creating some dissensions amongst the ranks and files of the Muslims. The controversy between the Shias and Sunnis was every day increasing. Mr. Jinnah in a further statement warned his co-religionists and said:

> I caution Muslims not to fall victims to the surreptitious machinations of the enemies of Muslims who are calculated to create and exploit the differences between them. One cannot help noting in these unfortunate developments at Lucknow that those who are responsible for leading rather misleading sections of both Shias and Sunnis in the fratricidal struggle are prominent Muslim Congressites.

Prominent Muslim leaders from all over India appealed to the Sunnis and Shias of Lucknow to end this useless and absurd controversy. Sir Raza Ali, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, Sir Mohd. Yaqub, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, and A. K. Fazlul Huq tried their level best to bring about a compromise but they could not appeal to the mob mentality. The Muslim League adopted a neutral attitude for it could not side nor take part in sectional fights. It claimed to represent both and on such occasions where purely religious questions are involved its attitude of neutrality all the more helped to do away with the influence of the Ulamas some of whom always try to create mischief. The Shias of Lucknow started Tabarra agitation and hundreds went to jail. The matters grew from bad to worse so much so that even the attempts of the Congress and particularly of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad failed to evolve a kind of formula. Arrests were made; firing was resorted too. All was due to the policy adopted by the Congress to divide the Muslims.

Another tragic event was the Hindu agitation against the Hyderabad State started by Aryan League. The Congress did not openly ally itself with this movement as an organisation, but many prominent individuals took part in it. Mr. Ghan Shiam Gupta, a Congressman, and the speaker of the C. P. Legislative Assembly was its president. The Hindus knew well the Muslim's love for Hyderabad and their attachment to the family of H. E.H. The Nizam. Their slogans in streets in trains were all directed against the Muslim senti-

ments. To cite one Mr. Buldev, an Arya Samajist preacher: "There should be no trace of Muslims in India, there should be Hindu Raj, we have to secure the throne of Nizam within six months." Another popular Arya Samajist song was to the effect that "we will drive out the followers of Mohammad with a kick." The Muslim League repeatedly warned the Hindus about the growing communal tension and appealed to the paramount power to stop Jathas. The Congress Government refused to take any step on the provocating articles and the slogans which the recruits of the Aryan League shouted. Mr. Ghan Shiam Gupta, the speaker of the C. P. Assembly, a staunch Congressite was always in consultation with Mr. Gandhi, and Mr. Gandhi himself after the issue of the Reforms admitted that he was interested in the Movement.

Meanwhile the Congress organisation started its drive against the Leftists. Various new clauses were added to the constitution, and even a man like Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru about whom Mr. Bose had expressed the opinion that "I would rather call them opportunists who pose as Leftists and act as Rightists," finally went over to the side of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Bose in agony had to admit that "it was impossible not to be suspicious of the motives of the majority party and if the amendment carried the large number of delegates I would regard it as an example of the tyranny of the majority." Mr. Bose did not bow down to the decision and organised a protest day and as he remarked "we are out to fight authoritarianism in

the Congress," he could not be tolerated for long by Mr. Gandhi and his followers and he was finally expelled from the Congress. The Congress had drifted to corruption to such an extent that an ex-parliamentary secretary to the U. P. Government had to write in the *National Herald* that, "I am firmly convinced that the Congress organisation has become corrupt on account of the lack of discipline."

The Princes, in their meeting on June 2nd in Bombay, clarified their position as regards the Indian Federation. Soon after its publication the Government of India issued a communique giving extension of time to the Princes. Mr. Jinnah issued a statement and warned the Princes by stating that, "the Princes would be signing their death warrant by joining the Federation." In this very statement, Mr. Jinnah alleged that the Congress and particularly Mr. Gandhi had fallen into the trap and he said:

> It has been openly said that Mahatma Gandhi told, at Rajkot, some of his followers that they would have to accept the Federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act. A few days ago when he was at Lahore, it was reported that he was asked the question as to what his opinion was as regards Federation and he declined to make any statement. Is Mr. Gandhi going to fall into the trap for the sake of merely having a Congress majority under this wretched Federal Scheme, and is he going to be frightened to death on the score that the Muslims will break away and it might lead to a partition of India? Is he going to accept halter round India's neck simply for the sake of dominating the Muslims in these few minor departments

which are transferred to the Legislature.

Meanwhile the various alternative schemes for the partition of India were before the country. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan published a zonal scheme and the Hindus began to feel that they could no longer think of ruling the Muslims by the sheer force of numbers.

Far from being a national organisation the Congress had degenerated into a mere party machine. Some idea of the extent to which it degenerated from its own ideals can be formed from a study of frequent and caustic comments of Mr. Gandhi about the motives and actions of those who constitute the majority of its members. According to Mr. Gandhi corruption and nepotism replaced patriotism and self-sacrifice as the guiding principle of Congress Party. Promotion of class hatred and party strife was considered to be a higher and nobler duty than the bringing together on one platform of these diverse elements which go to make up the Indian nation.

The clouds of War once again began to appear on the European horizon and everywhere the future was being discussed. The All India Muslim League naturally had to take a decision beforehand and by its resolution adopted on August 27th made its position clear thus:

> This Council while deploring the policy of British Government towards Muslims in India, in attempting to force upon them against their will the constitution, in particular the Federal Scheme, as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, which allows a pro-

minent, hostile and communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights, and expressing regret at the utter neglect and indifference shown by the officers and Governors of the Congress-governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities, and the British Government's attitude towards Arabs in Palestine in refusing, to meet the latter's demands, holds the view that in these circumstances, if the British Government desires to enlist the support and sympathy of the Muslims of the world, particularly, Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of Muslims of India without delay. The Council considers it premature at present to determine the attitude of Muslims in the event of World War breaking out. The Council meanwhile, directs the foreign committee to get into touch with the Islamic countries and ascertain their views. In case any sudden contingency arises the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall have power to decide this issue.

A tremendous change had come over the Muslims; even a Baronet like Sir Currimbhoi criticised and denounced the British. The Muslims were no longer in a mood to pin their faith in the British and they seriously criticised Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan whose statement regarding the Muslim support was considered a breach of discipline.

Events in Europe deteriorated to the extent that the British Government had to declare war on Germany and the same evening the Viceroy in a broadcast declared India to be on the side of the British and to be in a state of war. Soon after this the Viceroy invited Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi on coming out from the Viceregal Lodge issued a statement and expressed his sym-

pathies with Britain and France in the struggle and further remarked, "I am not just now thinking of India's deliverance, it will come but what it will be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany, ruined and humbled." He further said:

> Having therefore made my position vis-a-vis the Congress quite clear, I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England and France from a purely humanitarian standpoint. I told him that I should not contemplate, without being stirred to the very depth the destruction of London which hitherto has been regarded as impregnable. And as I was picturing Westminster Abbey and its possible destruction I broke down. I became disconsolate.

On the other hand, Mr. Jinnah, in a statement issued from Simla on 7th Sept. said:

> Naturally my sympathies are with the people of Poland, France and Britain as we are at present a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. If, however, Britain wants to prosecute this war successfully, she must take Muslim India into her confidence through their accredited organisation, the All India Muslim League, and to shape her policy in accordance with the principles enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent broadcast soon after the declaration of war on Sunday last. The mussalmans want justice and fairplay.

Even a Socialist like Mr. Nehru in his statement remarked:

> It is perfectly true that in a conflict between Democracy and Freedom on the one side, and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevit-

ably lie on the side of Democracy and we cannot tolerate with pleasure the idea of a victory for Fascist and Imperialist aggressors.

As a gesture to the Indian public opinion, Lord Linlithgow, in a speech to both the Houses of the Legislature, announced that the necessity of concentrating on the task in front of them left no alternative but to suspend the work in connection with the Federation, though Federation is the ultimate objective, and further appealed to Unity. The Congress Working Committee which met to decide the Congress attitude towards war issued a long essay written by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and, while sympathising with Britain and condemning Nazism, deferred in decision as regards the future course to be taken. But soon after Mr. Gandhi in a statement said "As a satyagrahi, I must wish well to England," and that his sympathies for England and France were not the result of a momentary emotion but fully reasoned. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, in a lengthy resolution, expressed deep sympathy for Poland, Britain and France and condemned the unprovoked aggression by Germany. The Committee, however felt that real Muslim co-operation and support to Great Britain in this hour of trial could not be secured successfully if His Majesty's Govt. and His Excellency the Viceroy were unable to secure to the Muslims, justice and fairplay in the Congress-governed provinces. It further reiterated its goal of freedom for India and urged upon His Majesty's Govt., that no declaration regarding the question

of constitutional advance for India be made without the consent and approval of the Muslim League and further urged upon His Majesty's Govt., to satisfy the Arab national demands. The Viceroy once again invited Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, and it was expected that a hopeful solution would be thrashed out. Meanwhile, Lord Zetland speaking in the House of Lords remarked, "I think the time has been ill chosen by the leaders of the Congress for the reiteration of their claims." The attitude adopted by the Congress leaders on this occasion and claiming their demands as India's national demands as the representatives of the nation forced Mr. Jinnah to say that "I have been in political life for over thirty years. I do not yet know the meaning of the word Nationalist and Nationalism. It is very difficult to find out who is a Nationalist." Meanwhile, the Viceroy was busy interviewing the Congress and the Muslim League leaders and of other various groups and parties in the country. Mr. Jinnah was asked by the Depressed Classes, Parsis and other Minorities to plead their case. Mr. Nehru and Mr. Gandhi also took the opportunity of discussing the communal problem with Mr. Jinnah. Soon after this interview Mr. Gandhi issued a statement and paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Jinnah and appealed to the Congressmen and Congress organs not to be bitter against the League or its individual members. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan also issued an appeal asking the leaders to sink all their differences in the interest of their country but the Congress took up the decision of asking Britain

to declare its war aims before finally agreeing to lend its support on the side of the allies. Referring to the statement by the Congress Committee regarding British war aims *The Times of London* said:

> The leaders of the working Committee to which Mahatma Gandhi does not belong, do not follow him in advocating unconditional co-operation by the Congress Party with the Government of India. They evidently hope to extract political profit from the situation by inducing the British Government to make further constitutional concessions in the shape of modifications of the reforms. It further went on to say: The problem will not be solved merely by a compliance with the wishes of the Working Committee. The British Government cannot bind itself to concede to the Indian Congress Party what would amount to a monopoly of the representation of Indian political opinion. Such an undertaking would constitute an injustice to other very important Indian interests, the Muslim community among them.

Mr. Gandhi's claim that the Congress is the only big body which represents the masses of India, irrespective of class or creed, was characterised as "much too excessive," by the *Scotsman* in the course of a leader on the Indian situation.

Knowing that Mr. Jinnah had placed the case of the Muslims before the Viceroy and their grievances, the President of the Congress offered to Mr. Jinnah his willingness to have an inquiry made by the Chief Justice of India into Mr. Jinnah's allegations, but Mr. Jinnah spurned the offer stating that he had already referred the matter to the Viceroy who was the proper authority to take such

actions as might be necessary.

Meanwhile His Excellency the Viceroy in a statement declared the British War aims as regards India and repeated the pledge that her attainment of Dominion Status was the policy of His Majesty's Government and remarked that the situation had to be faced in terms of the political realities of the country, progress had to be conditioned by practical considerations and there was nothing to be gained by phrases which would not stand the practical test. In this very statement, the Viceroy said that he had come to the conclusion, after weighing all views, with the best solution to form a consultative group fully representative of all major political parties in British India and of all Princes, to be presided over by the Governor-General. In conclusion, the Viceroy urged that this was not the moment to risk splitting the unity of India on the rock of phrases and begged all parties to lend their co-operation and assistance in defence of great ideals at a time of imminent danger to India as well as to Britain and the world. Similarly Lord Zetland in the House of Lords in a speech declared India's goal as Dominion Status and assured the Muslims of not divorcing the responsibility which devolved on the shoulders of the British Government.

Soon after this statement the Congress decided to go out of office. The Muslim League was convinced that the new order which the Congress was anxious to see meant only majority rule; in other words a complete denial to Muslims of their proper share in the Government of the country. And

very soon the fears of the Muslims came true when Mr. Gandhi in a statement on the 20th October said:

> The cry of the tyranny of the minority of majority is fictitious. Those who raise the cries of minorities in danger have nothing to fear from the so-called majority which is merely a paper majority and which in any event is ineffective because it is weak in the military sense. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is literally true that the so-called minority sphere has some bottom only so long as the weak majority plays at democracy with the help of British bayonets.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League resolved:

> The Committee, however, feel constrained to state that the points of vital importance raised by the Muslim League in their statement of September 18, 1939, have not been precisely and categorically met. The committee, therefore, ventured to suggest, in order to secure co-operation on an equal footing as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of these matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily with a view to arriving at a complete understanding which alone, would enable the Muslim League to co-operate in a matter which concerns not only the Mussalmans of India but the country at large.

Mr. Jinnah, in a statement to the *Manchester Guardian* also declared that democratic institutions were unsuited to India and further declared that "the British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India." He added:

> We want freedom and liberty but the question is whose freedom and liberty? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic and social and cultural institutions according to its own genius and not to be dominated and crushed while wishing Hindu India well and give its fullest scope to do likewise.

Meanwhile Sir Samuel Hoare on behalf of the British Government in a debate on Indian question in the House of Commons declared: "The British Government does not want a conflict in India. It wants co-operation." He repudiated any intention of following a "divide and rule" policy. He wished that anxiety had not existed among minorities but so long as they did Britain could not expect the demands for full responsible Government on a particular date. He further said, "The Muslims are firmly opposed to a Hindu majority at the centre. The depressed classes and other minorities genuinely believe that Responsible Government, meaning a government depending on *the Hindu* majority will sacrifice their interests." The Congress Governments before resigning the office passed certain resolutions in the Legislatures. The meagre demands of the Muslim members for consulting before the formulation of any future scheme was not even considered by the Hindu majority.

Mr. Gandhi issued a statement and admitted that "Congressmen must be held partly responsible for the failure to compose communal differences." The Viceroy again invited Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi to meet him jointly.

Before meeting the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Rajendra Prasad had a long talk. Meanwhile, Lord Zetland, replying to the Indian debates in the House of Lords, stated that the communal problem was the main obstacle to India's progress. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Gandhi had long talks with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah contended that both the British Government and the Congress should recognise the Muslim League as the representative body of the Muslims of India. Reviewing Indian situation Lord Zetland remarked:

> Surely the path of wisdom in these circumstances is to invite the leaders, in the first instance of the two main communities Hindus as represented by the Congress and Muslims as represented by the All India Muslim League—to meet under the auspicies of a neutral and discuss their differences frankly and see whether they can not find some solution to them.

The Delhi talks broke down for Mr. Jinnah insisted that Muslim ministers should command the confidence of the Muslims in the Legislature. This was not found acceptable by the Congress. Mr. Gandhi admitted that civil disobedience at this stage "will certainly mean Hindu-Muslim riots." The Congress and the Muslim League sent different notes to the Viceroy. The London *Times* in its editorial asked the Congress to show its intentions first as regards the Minorities. The Viceroy, in a broadcast on Nov. 5, admitted that the talks between the different parties failed but he refused to admit his failure. Mr. Gandhi accused the Mussalmans of looking to the British power to safeguard Muslim

rights and regarding the Muslim League demands. He said: "Nothing that the Congress can do or concede will satisfy him, (Mr. Jinnah) for he can always and naturally from his own standpoint, ask for more than the British can give or guarantee, therefore there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands." To this charge Mr. Jinnah said "that Mr. Gandhi could not have said anything worse about him or about the Muslims of India at that juncture" and considered it as a libel on the whole Muslim community, and assured Mr. Gandhi that the Muslims of India depended upon their own inherent strength. Mr. Jawaharlal continued his talks with Mr. Jinnah and ultimately decided to resume them in Bombay, and remarked that there was no difference with Mr. Jinnah on the final objective of India. In this intermediary period which was to last long between the final talks to be resumed between Mr. Jinnah and Pt. Nehru, Mr. Gandhi was busy writing articles in his *Harijan* accusing Muslims, refusing to recognise them as a nation and developing his own theories. On the other hand, Mr. Jinnah in a broadcast on the I'd day appealed for compromise and unity. The Congress then began to clamour for the Constituent Assembly as the only solution of India's problem. Considering the whole position of the various statements of Mr. Gandhi which left no room to doubt about the sincerity of the Congress and its propaganda in foreign countries regarding its representative character, Mr. Jinnah in a statement said:

> I wish the Mussalmans all over India to observe Friday December 22, as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have at last ceased to function....... I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Mussalmans and other minorities.

This day of Deliverance or Thanksgiving was observed all over India and in practically every hamlet and village, in thousands and thousands of places, so much so, that the Secretary of the All India Muslim League said later that, it was impossible to even cope with the immense shower of telegrams he received.

Owing to the celeberations of the Deliverance Day the talks which were going to take place between Mr. Jinnah and Congress leaders did not proceed further. The Congress leaders lost their heads over the celebrations of December 22nd, and it showed the fundamental approach and the outlook on the communal problem between the Muslim League and the Congress was divergent. The Congress from the very beginning treated Hindu-Muslim question as purely domestic, but the Muslim League considered any solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem a matter of vital importance for the future of the country. Thus all hopes for any communal settlement had to be given up. The powerful propaganda machinery of the Congress both in India and England had

kept the British ignorant of the true conditions of Indian political life. Mr. Jinnah's article in the *Time and Tide* for the first time presented a true picture of the complex Indian problem.

The negotiations that were going between Mr. Jinnah on behalf of Muslim League and Lord Linlithgow on behalf of British Government continued as the Muslim League had asked for clarification of certain points before declaring its support to Britain. These clarifications were a condition precedent and definite pledges in the shape of solemn declarations were considered essential. The Mussalmans had witnessed pathetically the working of the Gentleman's agreement between theGovernors and the Congress and which surely worked to their entire detriment. The Muslim League demanded re-examination and re-consideration of the Government of India Act 1935 *de novo*. Further, no declaration, either in principle or otherwise, was to be made or any constitution enacted without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India. It further demanded that His Majesty's Government "should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs and Palestine, and that the Indian troops shall not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country." The demand on the question of securing fair play and justice to Muslims in Congress-governed provinces was not further pressed as the Congress ministries has ceased to function. His Excellency's reply to the first and the third point was partially satisfactory. The

reply to the second point was vague and the implication of the fourth point was rather misunderstood by him. The essence of the Muslim League demand was that the Muslims should themselves be the final judges of what was best for them without doing harm to others. The whole question as put by Mr. Jinnah, was that Great Britain, wanted to rule India, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress wanted to rule India and the Muslims; the Muslims said that they would not let either Britain or Mr. Gandhi to rule over them; they wanted to be free to rule themselves.

In the meantime, His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government made the solemn declaration regarding His Majesty's objective for India and promised full Dominion status of the Westminster Statute variety and fervently appealed to the leaders of the great political parties of India to help to terminate as early as possible the present deplorable state of things. In this statement Mr. Gandhi found the germs of the settlement while Muslim League being satisfied on some points. Mr. Jinnah sounded a note of warning that, if any such thing as the gentleman's agreement which had been existing during the regime of the Congress Ministry were repeated, it would lead to the gravest crisis in India whose consequences no one could foresee. The Viceroy reassured Mr. Jinnah about the undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with the parties and interest on the basis of a negotiation and not

dictation. The assurance though better worded still fell short of Muslim expectations. Though it was clear by now that no constitution would be enacted merely at the behest or the instances of the party however numerous and vocal, yet it was doubtful whether the Muslim rights to choose finally what was the best for them was recognized. A cry was raised by the Congress that the Mussalmans wanted power to veto all constitutional advance. A fresh attempt was again made by His Excellency the Viceroy in 1940, to bring the Congress leaders to see reason and reach the settlement with the Muslim League in regard to the provincial field which was to be followed by the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the inclusion therein of representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League on the lines of the proposals made by His Excellency in November 1939. The Muslim League was again prepared to discuss the possibilities of such a rapprochement consistent with the declarations which it had from time to time adopted on the position of the Mussalmans but the Congress again refused to entertain the proposal or have any discussion with the Muslim League unless and until the British Government made the declaration of the independence of India and the summoning of the constituent assembly suggesting on the lines of the Congress resolution.

The meeting between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi did not bring any change in the political situation. The Viceroy made clear to Mr. Gandhi that His Majesty's Government were only prepared

to examine the whole constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. While Mr. Gandhi did not like this emphasis, the Muslim League always insisted on the point. The Muslim League in its meeting of the Working Committee held in the same month demanded a clear understanding from His Majesty's Government for safeguarding the legitimate interest of the Mussalmans to which the Viceroy in his interview with Mr. Jinnah had substantially agreed. In the meantime, Lord Zetland appealed the Congress leaders to face realities and not to lay much stress on words. But the Congress declared in its meeting of the Working Committee that nothing short of the complete independence for India, would be acceptable and threatened the British Government to start Civil Disobedience Movement in case circumstances demanded. The Congress resolution was finally adopted by the Ramgarh Session of the Congress. While the talk for starting Civil Disobedience Movement was going on in the country Mr. Gandhi was very careful in putting many ifs and buts for in his statement of March 16th he expressed the hope of having many more meetings with the Viceroy. The statements of the Congress leaders were delivered both in hard and cold breath and every one was trying to assure the British Government that no one in the Congress rank wanted to embarrass the British Government but the Government too could not get the whole-hearted support unless and until the Congress demand was considered.

It may be pointed out that in the last Congress election Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected against the wishes of Mr. Gandhi after which every possible effort was made to see that the hold of "Mahatma" was not weakened, so much so that in the end Mr. Bose had to resign. This time on the expressed wishes of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Abul Kalam Azad, who had previously refused the nomination of election of the Presidentship, was selected. The real aim of this move was to give an impression to the outside world that the Congress was not a Hindu body alone. But the growing strength of the Muslim League as demonstrated in the various bye-elections clearly proved the enormous grip which the Muslim League had on the Muslim masses. The Muslim League repeatedly made clear that it wanted freedom for all and not freedom of one section. But the Congress policy was that the future fate and destiny of 90 millions of Mussalmans be entrusted to its care. The greatest harm done to the Mussalmans was that they were termed as minority, but it was in Lahore that the Muslim League expressed its strong disapproval and proclaimed to the world that they were a nation. Mr. Jinnah in his address expressed the view thus:

> Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary Govern-

> ment of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

He expressed the determination that no constitution which would necessarily result in a Hindu majority government could be acceptable to the Mussalmans, for any democratic system could only mean Hindu Raj. The democracy which the Conress High Command meant would only result in complete destruction of the Muslims. As a remedy and the only course open for the peace and the happiness of the people, Mr. Jinnah suggested that the two major nations must have separate home-lands by dividing India into autonomous national states without being antagonistic to each other. Mr. Jinnah said:

> It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed they belong to two different civi-

lisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

The Muslim League Session adopted the following resolution as an ultimate goal of the Mussalmans of India.

It is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent State," in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided

in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

The Hon. Moulvi Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal while moving the above resolution clearly stated that what it wanted was not merely tinkering with the idea of Federation but its thorough overhaul so that the Federation might ultimately go. In his speech he voiced the feeling of the Mussalmans by remarking that in case any constitution was forced on them they would make such a constitution absolutely unworkable. The resolution received its support from the representatives of almost all the Provinces. Mr. Jinnah in a conversation with Dr. Alam who had joined the League after resigning from the Congress expressed his determination for achieving Lahore resolution in words which show that the Lahore resolution was adopted in all its sincerity. He said, "If necessity arose, I will give my life." Then Dr. Alam enquired if he would go to Jail, the reply given to Dr. Alam was "Before you, you will follow me."

Just before the Session a great tragedy which resulted in the loss of the life of many Khaksars on whom the Police had to open fire, greatly per-

turbed and agitated the Muslim mind. The Muslim League demanded an independent enquiry which was later accepted by the Punjab Government. Soon after the Lahore resolution commonly known as Pakistan the Congress and the other Hindu. leaders lost control and expressed their determination to resist all such attempts which may see the Lahore resolution being implemented. Mr. Jinnah earnestly appealed to the better mind of the Hindus and the other Indians to give the serious consideration to the Lahore resolution and also cleared the wrong idea and the false propaganda set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate en bloc. Regarding the position of the Indian states he expressed the hope that the Mussalmans would be glad to come to an honourable and reasonable settlement with them.

The Congress was very much perturbed by the Lahore resolution and wanted one more pretext to carry on the propaganda that the Muslim League does not represent the Muslim India. Efforts were therefore made to stage a conference under the direct guidance and confabulation of a few Congressite Muslims. The much talked Azad Muslim Conference passed certain resolutions to the Congress liking and as was understood much capital was made of the speeches and the resolution of the Conference. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, in his statement asked Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to refrain for such machinations and clearly stated in his statement that the Muslim League was prepared for any test which may convince the Congress about

the solid support which the Lahore resolution had from the Mussalmans.

The Congress insisted on declaration of complete independence, instead of asking the British Government to withdraw from the scene altogether the only sanction in the mind of Mr. Gandhi was the sanction of the British Government. He himself openly confessed that they could play the democracy only under the protecting wings of the British power. He expressed his fear that once British withdrew the whole country would be overrun by the Muslims and other martial classes of the north. The only independence that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress can think of is the acquisition of a certain amount of power by the Hindu majority to control and direct the internal administration of the country under the protection of British arms. The meaning and contents of "independence" changed from week to week in the columns of *Harijan*. Mr. Gandhi even went to the extent of saying that there was only one party in the country and the rest should be dismissed from the minds as they were communal in character. The whole issue was that the Congress wanted democracy and self-determination of its own choice and pattern.

In the month of June, 1940, the collapse of a great power (France) created a sensation in the whole world. It was realized that India too was not quite out of danger. Both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State made earnest appeals to the people of India to realize the gravity of the situation and to help in the intensification of War effort and the organiza-

tion of the defence of India. Mr. Jinnah responding the appeal on behalf of Muslim India remarked that the Muslims were fully alive to the gravity of the situation, both external and internal. Uptil then the Muslims had created no difficulties in the prosecution of War. The Provinces where the Muslim League had a larger voice in the administration had been left free to co-operate with the Government. With reference to the Viceroy's and Mr. Amery's appeal, Mr. Jinnah said that it was to the British Government "to assure trust in Muslim leadership, there are many ways in doing so, and as confident friends seek our wholehearted co-operation, we shall not fail." The Working Committee of All India Muslim League in its meeting on June 17th, voiced the sentiments of Muslim India by expressing alarm and concern at the grave turn the war had taken in Europe in which one nation after another was being deprived of its liberty and freedom and condemning in particular the unwarranted attack made by Italy at a time when France was engaged in a desperate struggle against overwhelming odds. Realizing the gravity of the world situation the Committee felt constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief fell far short of the urgent requirements of the situation; the Committee, therefore, called upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organized manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee further expressed the view that

unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation were agreed upon on an All-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved by the Muslims and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district War Committees with their present scope and functions. The resolution gave a statesman-like lead not only to Muslims but to the country as a whole. Mr. Jinnah was invited by H. E. the Viceroy for an interview in this connection on June 27, 1940. After the interview in compliance with His Excellency's wishes to let him have any details which Mr. Jinnah might have in mind in this connection the latter submitted a Note entitled "Tentative Proposal." It was in His Excellency's own words a 'very clear and valuable memorandum.' An agitation had been bolstered up by the Congress and other Hindu circles against the Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League advocating the establishment of 'indedependent states' in regions of Muslim majority in the North-West and the North-East of India. The demand was insistent that the British Government should declare from the outset that the Muslim League proposal would not even be taken into consideration. One of the high-lights of the Congress, Mr. Satyamurthi, declared: "The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers—no Pakistan,

no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities. Once having said that the rest will be easy." In other words Muslims should be handed over to the tender mercies of the Congress. Therefore, the very first point which Mr. Jinnah mentioned in his memorandum was: that no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would in any way militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore Resolution of the division of India and creation of independent states in the North-West and the North-East of India, as this ideal had now become the universal faith of Muslim India. The second point mentioned by Mr. Jinnah was a reiteration of the demand that His Majesty's Government must give a definite and categorical assurance that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India. Mr. Jinnah stated that in view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger facing India it was fully realized that everything possible should be done to intensify the war efforts and mobilize all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security and peace and warding off external aggression. But Mr. Jinnah made it clear that it could only be achieved if the British Government were willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces. Muslim Indian leadership must be fully trusted as

equals with an equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and Provincial.

For the period of war Mr. Jinnah suggested that the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government:

(*a*) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged within the framework of the present constitutional existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions; but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members, as it is obvious that the main burden and and the responsibility shall be borne by Muslims in that case.

(*b*) In the provinces where section 93 has to operate, non-official Advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after discussion and the majority of the non-official Advisers should be the representatives of Muslims; and where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or coalition naturally it would be for the parties to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

(*c*) There should be a War Council consisting of not less than fifteen members including the President, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I do not like the expression War Consultative Committee. This Council should regularly meet to deal with and review the general situation as it may develop from time to time and advise the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of war generally, and in particular the fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make

a thorough economic and industrial drive. In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes and as far as I can judge they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

Finally, the representatives of the Muslims in the proposed War Council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official Advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League.

The Viceroy after considering the memorandum dealt with the various points taken therein in his letter to Mr. Jinnah dated July 6, 1940. His Excellency approved the suggestion that the expansion of his Council will be within the existing constitutional law. But he pointed out that it was not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. But he readily accepted the importance of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests which point he promised to bear in mind. The Viceroy also pointed out that the persons selected for inclusion in the Viceroy's Council could not be nominees of political parties, however important, though it might be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community. As regards appointment of non-official Advisers

in provinces the Viceroy could give no definite indication and stated that when the question of the appointment of such Advisers arose in the light of the circumstances of each province the importance of the community from which Advisers are drawn in a particular province would have a direct bearing. The Viceroy also welcomed the idea of the War Council as well worth considering. His Excellency, while stating that it would not be constitutionally possible for the choice of Muslim members of the Council to rest with the Muslim League, assured Mr. Jinnah that in the contingency envisaged by the latter any suggestions put forward by him would receive full consideration. Mr. Jinnah in his reply appreciated the clarification of the legal and constitutional position with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the appointment of non-official Advisers. Though the details would have to be worked out Mr. Jinnah felt that there was nothing in his memorandum which could not be given effect to by way of convention and if the Government met them in a spirit of trust and co-operation the legal and constitutional formalities could be met and complied with. Mr. Jinnah expressed thanks for the assurance regarding the appointment of Muslim members and assured on his part that he would meet the Viceroy in every reasonable way possible.

Soon after this, on August 5, 1940, His Excellency the Viceroy communicated to Mr. Jinnah an advance copy of his statement on the existing situation and the constitutional problems for his

private information. The statement appeared in press on August 8, 1940. Referring to the point raised by Mr. Jinnah in regard to the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League His Excellency told Mr. Jinnah that his statement of August 8, clearly safeguarded the Muslim position. It substantially incorporated the suggestions made by Mr. Jinnah with regard to the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the creation of a War Advisory Council. It, however, made no reference to the appointment of non-official Advisers. The consideration of the proposals made by the Viceroy regarding the future constitution of India and the method and process of framing it he deferred for the present. Let us first take up the specific offer contained in the Viceroy's statement in regard to interim arrangements for the duration of war. The differences within the provincial field regarding which the Viceroy had asked the Congress to reach a settlement with the Muslim League leading to co-operation at the Centre had remained unbridged, because of the intransigence of the Congress and their refusal to discuss the question with the League or with any one. The British Government now felt that these differences need not hold up the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the establishment of a body which would more closely associate Indian opinion with the conduct of the war. The Viceroy was, therefore, authorized to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join his Executive Council and further to establish a War Advisory Council consisting of representatives of Indian

States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the proposals which were on the very lines suggested by the League itself and appreciated the offer in principle. But the details of the proposal involved certain very important issues which, unless satisfactorily clarified, would defeat the very purpose of the principle underlying the proposal. The League Working Committee, while welcoming the proposal, sought clarification on the following important points: (1) the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council and the number of additional members, (2) the proportion of Muslim representation in the expanded Council, (3) the portfolios to be allocated to additional members, (4) the position of the Muslim League representatives in the event of any other party deciding at a later stage to assist in the prosecution of war and Government agreeing to associate them with the Executive Council which would involve substantial modification of the Council, (5) the composition and functions of the War Advisory Council and the proportion of Muslim representation therein. In an earlier communication the Viceroy had indicated that the probable strength of the Executive Council would be in the neighbourhood of eleven. His Excellency asked Mr. Jinnah to submit a panel of four names with a view to His Excellency's selecting two for appointment to his Executive Council. As for the War Council His Excellency asked for another panel of names on the assumption that there would pro-

bably be five out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of twenty. In a later communication His Excellency recognized the difficulties in the way of submitting panels as pointed out by the League Committee and agreed that the selection of representatives while resting with the Governor-General should be based on confidential discussion between the leader of the party concerned and the Viceroy. But His Excellency could give no indication at all as to the total strength of the expanded Council of the allocation of portfolios or the proportion of Muslim representatives in the Council, or the strength and composition of War Council beyond saying that the question of setting it up would be considered after the expansion of the Executive Council had been completed. The Viceroy, however, made it clear that the collaboration of Indian representatives with the expanded Council and the War Council would be entirely without prejudice to the consideration and decision, after the conclusion of the war and on the basis indicated in His Excellency's statement, of the main constitutional issue. As regards the position of the Muslim League representatives vis-a-vis the representatives of any other party deciding at a later stage to join the Viceroy's Council, His Excellency appreciated and recognized in the course of conversation with Mr. Jinnah, as stated by the latter, the vital importance of the point so far as the Muslim League was concerned. The point was that in the event of any other party desiring later on to be associated with the Viceroy's Council to assist in the prosecu-

tion of War it should be allowed to do so on terms approved of and consented to by the Muslim League party, as they were entering into, so to say, a "war contract." This was a point of the first importance as will be seen presently; but the Viceroy's reply was that though he had given the matter most careful consideration yet he had found it impracticable to devise any form of words which would meet the purpose which the League had in view. The whole correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and H. E. the Viceroy was considered by the League Working Committee at its meeting on September 28, 1940, and the Committee came to the conclusion that the Viceroy's offer in the circumstances was unacceptable. Even the probable figures pertaining to the expanded Council and the War Council had disappeared. It was not known as to what would be the total strength of the expanded Council, what portfolios would be placed under the charge of the additional members, which were the other parties with whom the Muslim League would be expected to collaborate, and what would be the proportion of Muslim members in the Council. There was no indication whatsoever as to what would be the position of Muslim League representatives, should any party decide at a later stage to come into the expanded Council. This point was all-important. For one thing the Muslims believed that once their representatives were appointed to the Viceroy's Council, the Congress, whatever their objections to the scheme of expansion, would come scampering for seats in the Coun-

cil, throwing all their vaunted principles to the winds. And the Muslims were quite justified in their apprehensions.

The Congress had demanded National Government in the centre and was prepared to co-operate with the British Government on this condition. Even the principle of Non-violence was thrown overboard. Mr. Abul Kalam Azad wanted to have the support for the Delhi Resolution from Mr. Jinnah but Mr. Jinnah refused to discuss anything with Mr. Abul Kalam Azad and called him the "show-boy President of the Congress." The Poona Resolution of the Congress was aptly described by Mr. Jinnah that "what was *Harám* at Wardha became *Halál* at Poona." Mr. Rajagopalachariar sent an offer to the Muslim League through a London paper for choosing the Premier of India but Mr. Jinnah understood the game and exposed the implications of the offer. In spite of the speeches of Mr. Amery delivered in the House of Commons and the Viceroy's offer to Muslim League, he told that no improvement was made as to change League attitude by joining even in the War Committees. Mr. Amery's assurance to the Mussalmans regarding the future constitution to be drafted for the country was detestful pill for the Congress to swallow and the Viceroy's offer was rejected by the Congress. Mr. Fazlul Huq replied to the charges which the Congress had launched in its frontal attack on the Muslim League and particularly maintained that the democracy which the Congress wanted was buried by the Congress itself and after

all that was done by the Congress Ministries. The demand for democracy and the Parliamentary system meant nothing but the perpetuation of the Hindu Raj in the country.

Meanwhile, the Congress was drifting away from the British Government as it had lost all hopes of compromise and of gaining that position from where it could dictate. Although Mr. Amery in his speech in the House of Commons on September 26, expressed his regret at Congress rejection, re-assured about Britain's solemn pledges and found in Viceroy's offer a ray of hope for a brighter future. He again emphasized that the future of India lay in the hands of the Indians themselves. Mr. Gandhi in his interview with the Viceroy while assuring him of not embarrassing Britain and detesting Nazism, demanded the permission for the freedom of speech to which the Viceroy flatly refused saying that such a course could only result in hampering the war efforts. Mr. Gandhi's vanity was injured and the Working Committee of the Congress which had thrown Mr. Gandhi in Poona once again placed him in the position of its virtual dictator. A new light dawned upon Mr. Gandhi and a new technique of Satyagraha movement was discovered. Mr. Gandhi who on a previous occasion had shed tears over the very idea of destruction of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey now advised the British people to give their hearths and homes to Germans and to offer no resistance for in that way the enemy would never be in a position to capture their souls. His insistence on non-violence and Charkha was

accepted by the Hindus but the Mussalmans remained totally indifferent as it was of no interest for them. The Muslim League while rejecting Viceroy's offer had given permission to the League members to join War Committees, if by doing so they thought that they could be of any use. Everything failed to bring the Muslim League into the trap. Mr. Amery gave new slogan to the Indian people and dealt much on the united India. Meanwhile, the opposition to the Pakistan scheme grew to volume, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Hindu League and the Congress were all of the same view. Mr. Jinnah repeatedly made clear that this scheme did neither mean a vivisection of the country nor it was hostile to the Hindu interest. He maintained that even the Hindu Law provided that when brothers of the same parents find impossible to live together they resort to partition. He voiced the feelings of Mussalmans by expressing their determination to oppose the present democratic form of Government as it was the negation of democracy. To allow a rule of a predominant majority returned on the basis of separate electorates and more particularly in a federal constitution where a predominant Hindu majority would ride roughshod over the interests of the Mussalmans, would be suicidal to Muslim interests.

The Muslim League Council in its resolution of the 23rd February 1941, characterized the Congress Satyagraha as an attempt to bring pressure on the British Government to concede its demand. The reason for coming to this conclusion was

Mr. Gandhi's statement which he issued soon after meeting the Viceroy and wrote the following in the *Harijan* "so long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League." The starting of civil resistance in the absence of arrangement with the League could only mean a crusade against the Mussalmans. Choudhri Khaliquzzaman warned the Congress about pursuing such a course and expressed the belief that the right course was to reach the settlement with the League and no power in the world could have been in a position to turn down their right demand to be forwarded by the Hindus and the Muslims. Probably the Congress leaders thought, according to Chaudhri Sahib, that when they would come out of jail the League would have disappeared. A fair warning was given to the British Government that in case they yielded to the demand of the Congress, the Mussalmans would resist with all their power for hitherto their attitude had been that of a benevolent neutrality in spite of many grave provocations. Soon after this meeting Mr. Amery in a broadcast talk referred to the great Muslim community of 90 millions in India and remarked that "it was to meet that situation that His Majesty's Government had recently made it clear that they are prepared to give effect at the earliest possible moment after the war to a new constitution in consonance with Indian Conception, but it must be a constitution based as all federal constitution has been based on agreement between the main elements in India's

national life." This statement of Mr. Amery was the result of the strong condemnation of Mr. Amery's policy and speech which was to thrust on Muslims the slogans "India first" and in the course of which he spoke of a united India and which naturally gave grave apprehensions in the minds of the Mussalmans as it gave an impression contrary to the previous announcements that His Majesty's Government made. Mr. Amery also confessed that in the name of democracy the Congress wanted to over-ride the claims of other important elements in India's complex national life.

Another attempt was made to find out a solution of Indian deadlock and for the purpose a Conference of Non-Party leaders was convened by Sir Jagdish Prasad under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This Conference was attended mostly by the Liberals and prominent members of Hindu Mahasabha. The Conference demanded Viceroy's Executive Council expansion and the association of Indians with the War policy. Mr. Jinnah later exposed the purpose and the aim of this Conference. In his statement issued to Provincial Leagues and as published in the '*Statesman*' of the 27th May, he said:

> The so-called Non-Party Conference specially invited leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and also Mr Sriniwasan, Editor of the Hindu. It is known that Mr. Sriniwasan is in the confidence of Mr. Sri Raj Gopal Acharyar. The memorandum submitted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the Viceroy says that leaders of the liberal party were also invited. What difference is there between the members of the liberal party, the

> Congress, the Hindu League and the Mahasabha? The Conference was composed of men of practically the same school of thought and of elements that are against the Muslim League.

In analysing the various recommendations, which the Secretary of State himself considered difficult to concede, clearly showed that the policy adopted was similar to the one which the Congress adopted at Poona namely, the setting up of a National Government at the centre. The activities of this Conference later culminated in the Poona Resolution in which the Viceroy's Council expansion and formation of the National Defence Council were welcomed. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had made an effort to bring Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi together. In the correspondence which has now been published, one can easily discern the truth that Mr. Jinnah has always been prepared to meet Mr. Gandhi in the position of a Hindu Leader but Mr. Gandhi instead of facing the realities of the situation could not agree to such a course. Muslim League leaders had repeatedly made clear both outside and on the floor of the legislature that Pakistan was not the present issue but a plan for the future. The Muslim League was not going to put it as a condition precedent for any political settlement that may be agreed upon for the duration of War, although the Muslims feelings on this issue were fully demonstrated throughout the country on March 24th, a day fixed by the League for the celebration of Pakistan to be observed every year. But in spite of all this attitude both the British

Government and the Congress remained a verse. The Muslim League party in the legislature had to withdraw owing to the many acts of injustices done to the Mussalmans in the Railway services. It seemed as if the British Government wanted the co-operation of the Muslim League without doing justice to them in any walk of life. Lest there may be any doubt left about the seriousness of the Muslim demand for separate and autonomous home-lands of their own, the Muslim League made a fundamental change in its constitution by adopting Pakistan as its goal. This was the logical consequence of the decision taken at Lahore a year ago. It gave a concrete shape to the kind of independence which the Muslims wanted. It also removed the erroneous impression that the Muslims were out to bargain.

Mr. Jinnah also observed in his Presidential Address (Madras) about the great importance which heattached to the safeguards and maintained that "no Government will ever succeed without instilling a sense of security and confidence in the minority. No Government will succeed if their policy and programme would be unjust and unfair to the minority." He further observed that "I am confident when the issue comes the minorities in our home-lands will find that our traditions and our heritage with our teachings of Islam they will find that not only we shall be fair and just to them but generous." Mr. Jinnah also deprecated the policy of inaction, of weakness and of vacillation of the British Government which in his opinion would in the end

prove more disastrous than it did in Europe. He asked the British Government in the face of this policy of placating that "are you going to act or allow somebody else to come here and do the job for you? What are you going to do now?" To the remarks of Babu Rajendra Prasad in which he has said that the Congress never discussed the Pakistan scheme as it was never referred to it by Mr. Jinnah. He asked his audience:

> Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme? This ghost has been haunting them since March 1940. What standard of truth is this? Every Congress leader heading with Mr. Gandhi has discussed, issued statements and written volumes about Pakistan. Babu Rajendra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the Pakistan scheme in which he came out with his view and he says it was never discussed by the Working Committee because Mr. Jinnah never referred it. I say to Babu Rajendra Prasad 'ask your Working Committee to discuss it if they have not already done so,' I say not only discuss it but apply your mind to it honestly and without prejudice and without silly sentiment, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership.

Mr. Jinnah further exposed all activities of Hindu Mahasabha and mentality of the Hindu papers and concluded that the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders always thought alike. When the Mussalmans talked of Pakistan they were called fanatics but when they talked about Hindudom and Hindu Raj for the whole of India, they were liberals and nationalists. Mr. Jinnah also asked the

Muslims to organise themselves politically, educationally, economically and in the end he said: "I want that there should be Lieutenant Majors, Captains, Colonels, and Generals and as just they are soldiers in the army we must have political leaders." The Muslim League constituted a Committee to draft five years plan and another for the management control and composition of the Muslim National Guard. The President was given full powers to take every action or step in furtherance and relating to the objects of the Muslim League in any manner he thought fit. It was also clearly stated that the Civil Disobedience movement launched by the Congress really meant to coerce the British Government to concede the Congress demands regarding the future constitution of India which virtually meant the transfer of sovereign powers to the Hindus and thus elegate the Muslim nations and the Indian minorities to the status of mere species of Hindu Raj throughout the country. A solemn warning was given to the British Government that in case it went against its declaration and pledges then the Mussalmans would be "forced to resort in every measure and method to resist with all the power they can command." Soon after the session Mr. Amery observed that "the Congress is, I fear, blind to the risk that no alternative constitution is now likely to emerge which could secure for it as great measure of influence and control over India as a whole as it would have exercised under the present Act." The most significant symptom, continued Mr. Amery, "is

the growing strength and demand voiced by Mr. Jinnah for complete separation from the rest of India of the North-Western and North-Eastern zones of India and establishment of completely independent states controlling their own defence, foreign affairs and finance. I am not concerned here with the immense practical difficulties of this project." Mr. Amery also deprecated the party totalitarianism.

> What has been even more immediately serious in its effect has been the demonstration of Congress methods upon other important elements in India—the Non-Congress Provinces, the Muslim community generally, and the Princes. It has confirmed to the point of a fixed determination, their already growing reluctance to part in or come under any Central Government in India which is likely to be subject to the control of a majority in the legislature which in its turn would simply obey the orders of the Congress central executive.

To all except the Congress his speech in Parliament provided a sort of vicarious satisfaction. The rebuff demonstrated by Mr. Amery to the Congress so profoundly disappointed the "Mahatma" that for the moment he had to lay his art aside and allow his natural feelings to find expression. His statement on the Indian Secretary's speech issued on April 26th, is the angry utterance of a man who has taken immense pains to lay an elaborate trap only to discover that his intended victim is much too wary to fall into it. The step taken up by the Muslim League had unnerved both Mr. Gandhi and the Sapruites. Unfortunately the result of

all these was found in the breaking out of the communal riots in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Dacca and Bihar Sharif where an organised attempt was made to loot the property of the Mussalmans and to stab them in their backs regardless of the age of the person. It was evidently the result of an unceasing propaganda which the Congress had started soon after the adoption of the Lahore Resolution. Dacca was particularly scene of much agony and the violent outrages. Mr. Munshi, who was the Congress Minister and who believed in non-violence and truth of the Congress pattern realized that the Hindus had no courage left in them and after resigning from the Congress started a new move of 'Akhand Hindustan.' Mr. Gandhi allowed Mr. Munshi to resign from the Congress though for different reasons, although his own feelings on these riots was as usual, that the Muslims were responsible for all these calamities, regardless of the fact that the Hindus by their utterances had crossed all limits of decency and misrepresentation of the Muslims cause. Meanwhile, Congressmen who were going out of jails were realizing the futility of the Congress movement for as Mr. Satyapal in his statement of July 14th, on his resignation pointed out that the Congress "has suspended its constitution and converted itself into a dictatorship of a rigid type."

Such in short was the political condition of the country when the Viceroy decided without the cooperation of the Congress and the Muslim League to expand his Executive Council and the formation of the National Defence Council. Five new port-

folios were created and services of three Muslim League Premiers of Assam, Bengal and the Punjab and two members of the Muslim League Council Begam Shah Nawaz and Nawab Saheb of Chhatari (who later explained that he resigned his membership soon after his appointment as the Premier of Hyderabad state,) were secured for the National Defence Council without consulting either the President or the executive of the Muslim League. This announcement on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State's speech in which he boasted of having secured the services of these persons who had disregarded their party affiliations and party discipline came as a rude shock to the Muslim public. The moment this statement was issued, Mr. Jinnah condemned it in unequivocal terms and pointed out to the many mistakes which the Viceroy had been making from time to time and particularly his efforts in creating disruptions in the ranks of the Muslim League. Protests to this action were made almost from every corner of the country and the Muslims all over India were particularly uncompromising in their attitude of condemning the action of those who had committed a flagrant breach of discipline by accepting the nomination on the National Defence Council and the Executive Council. For a while the country was full of speculations. No one except the Muslim League realized the gravity of the situation. Under such a tense atmosphere the Working Committee of the Muslim League met in Bombay on the 24th August, 1941.

Just before the Working Committee, the Secretary of State in a special interview tried to explain the conduct of these Premiers who had joined the so-called the National Defence Council as having accepted it in their official capacity. But Mr. Jinnah sprang up a surprize when he read out the correspondence that had passed on between him and the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumley. In his letter of the 20th July, the Governor of Bombay said that "the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased and for demonstrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the term of August offer," an offer which the Muslim League previously rejected. In this very letter he further mentioned that the great Muslim community was given representation to in the person of some highest eminence and prominence. In the face of this letter the plea of the Government and of the Premiers and particularly of Mr. Fazlul Huq who had entered into long controversy with Mr. Jinnah on this issue lost all value and the Working Committee came to the decision that all the members of the Muslim League should resign from their posts and deplored the fact that the Viceroy had not sought the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah's consent and preferred to invite members of the League to accept on the expanded Executive Council and on the National Defence Council. In accordance with the wishes of the Working Committee Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Sir Saadullah and Nawab Saheb of